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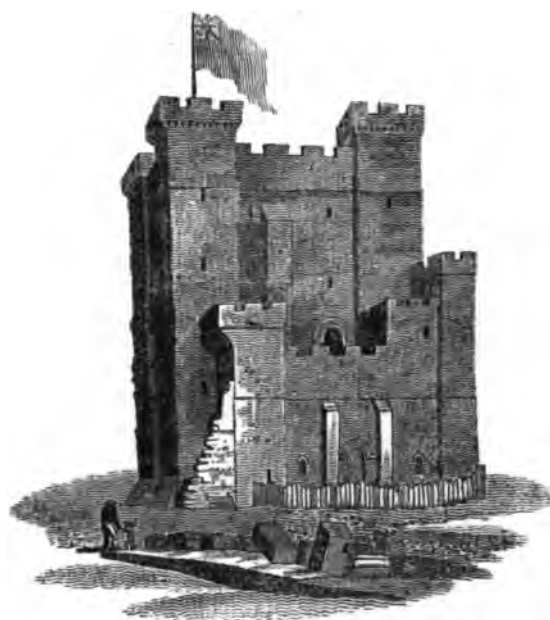
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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.



VOLUME I.

ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts,

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

OF

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

VOL. I.

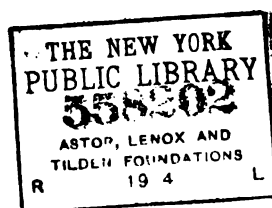


NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

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THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE was established on the 6th day of February, 1813; when the purport of its Institution was declared to be "Inquiry into Antiquities in general, but especially into those of the North of England, and of the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, in particular;" the following Code of Statutes was adopted for the regulation of the Society; and the Officers for the year nominated.

CODE OF STATUTES.

I. The Society shall consist of Ordinary, Corresponding, and Honorary Members. The number of Ordinary Members limited to one hundred; the number of Corresponding and Honorary Members unlimited. The candidates for admission as Ordinary Members shall be proposed at a regular meeting by at least three Members, and balloted for at the next succeeding meeting; three-fourths of the Members present to confirm the admission of the candidate. The election of Corresponding and Honorary Members shall be subject to the same regulations as the election of Ordinary Members, excepting that they may be balloted for the same meeting at which they are proposed. Twelve Members to form a constitution.

II. Persons residing within the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne, the counties of Northumberland, Durham, or Cumberland, shall not be eligible as Corresponding Members.

III. The Officers of the Society to consist of a Patron, one President, three Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, one Treasurer, and a Council of six. The office of patron to continue for life; the other Officers to be annually elected, out of the class of Ordinary Members, by written lists, to be delivered by the Members in person at the Anniversary Meeting. These officers to have charge of the property of the Society, and any five to be competent to act.

Slc 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

IV. The interest of each member in the funds and property of the Society to continue so long only as he shall remain a Member ; and the property shall never be sold or otherwise disposed of (except in the case of duplicates hereinafter mentioned), so long as there remain Members sufficient to form a constitution ; but should the Members be reduced below the number of twelve, and so remain for twelve calendar months then next following, the funds and property of the Society shall be delivered unto, and vest in, the oldest Society of Antiquaries in Great Britain.

V. Each Ordinary and Corresponding Member to pay an admission fee of two guineas, and each Ordinary Member to pay an annual subscription of one guinea, commencing the Anniversary Meeting in 1814.

VI. The Meetings of the Society to be held in the Society's room, at six o'clock in the evening, on the first Wednesday in every month ; and the Anniversary Meeting at twelve o'clock in the day, at the same place, on the first Wednesday in January.

VII. All papers to be read in the order of their dates. If any Member declines reading his own paper, any other Member may be allowed to read it : but such as are to be read by the Secretaries shall be sent to them a month previous to their being laid before the Society.

VIII. Three Censors to be annually chosen by the Officers out of the Ordinary Members ; to whom shall be intrusted the charge of revising and printing all such papers and communications as the Officers may admit into the Transactions of the Society.

IX. All donations to the Society to be regularly recorded in a book kept for that purpose, describing at length their nature, when and where discovered, the donor's names, &c. And all duplicates of Coins, Books, &c. to be at the disposal of the Officers, for the benefit of the Society at large.

X. Each Member, on his admission, shall sign the Statutes ; but any Ordinary Member may, on producing and leaving the authority by letter for it, sign them for such Members as cannot conveniently attend at the time of their admission.

XI. No alteration shall be made in the Statutes, except at the Anniversary Meeting in January. And every alteration intended to be then proposed, must be publicly announced and inserted in the Transactions at a meeting previous to the General Meeting.

XII. And lastly,—We, the undersigned Members, oblige ourselves to observe and fulfil

the above Statutes, and conform ourselves to all the future Rules and Regulations, which may be made by the Society and regularly entered in the Minute Book.

It having appeared, on further deliberation, to the Society, that certain alterations should be introduced into this Code of Statutes, it was at the Anniversary Meeting holden on the 5th day of January, 1814,

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

I. That every new Member shall conform to the statutes of this Society, within four of its meetings after his election, or such election to be void.

II. That all donations to the Society be presented through the Council.

III. That the Council be increased from six to twelve.

IV. That at the time of balloting for any gentleman as a Member of this Society, one of the gentlemen who proposed him shall be present, and in case of his election, pay his admission fee and subscription.

At the Anniversary Meeting, holden on the 4th day of January, 1815,

IT WAS RESOLVED,

That the Constitution be reduced from twelve to eight Members.

At the Anniversary Meeting, holden on the 5th of January, 1820, at the Society's apartments in the Bigg-market,

IT WAS RESOLVED,

That the 4th Rule do end at the word "mentioned," and that the remainder be expunged.

And at the Anniversary Meeting, holden on the 2d day of January, 1822,

IT WAS RESOLVED,

That the Constitution be reduced from eight Members to six.

Shortly after the institution of the Society, a Seal, engraven by Mr. Wyon, of the Royal Mint, from a design by Mr. Howard, R. A. was presented to the Society by its President, Sir John Edward Swinburne, Baronet. On the field is represented the figure of a female, who is supposed to be recording the proceedings of the Society; she is seated on the fragment of a column, opposite to an altar, found near Newcastle upon Tyne, and inscribed **LAMIIS TRIBVS**; beneath is written **SCRIPTA MANENT**, and round the seal, **SIGILLVM SOCIETATIS ANTIQVARIORVM PONTIS ÆLII. MDCCCXIII.** Of this seal, a wood cut executed by Mr. Thomas Bewick, of Newcastle, to whose abilities in that art his various productions bear ample testimony, is given in the title page of this volume.

This publication of the Transactions of this Society is submitted to the notice of the public, not without a considerable degree of hope that, not more from the attention of those entrusted with its management, than from the numerous donations which have been presented to it, and from the countenance and support which it has received from many gentlemen, who have become members of it since its first establishment, the wishes of its institutors will be realized.

The various presents which have been liberally sent to the Society, and the interesting communications with which it has been favoured relative to antiquities in its neighbourhood, afford ample testimony of the loss, which has been sustained, in consequence of a Society for the preservation of Antiquarian Remains not having been previously established in this district.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION — <i>On the Study of Antiquities, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	i
<i>Some Account of a Set of Gold Beads, presented to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, by His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, in a Letter to Thos. Davidson, Esq. O. M. from the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	1
<i>Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Northumberland, to Thos. Davidson, Esq. of Newcastle upon Tyne,</i>	9
<i>Communications respecting Implements of ancient Brass,</i>	11
<i>An Enquiry into the Æra when Brass was used in purposes to which Iron is now applied, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	17
<i>An Extract from Memoranda respecting the Discovery of an ancient Stone Coffin, in the Church-yard of Chatton, Northumberland, by the Rev. Joseph Cook, of Newton Hall, Vicar of Chatton, &c.</i>	99
<i>An Account of the opening of an ancient Grave near Denton, in the County of Northumberland; and some Notices respecting an Arrow Head of Flint, by Mr. Edward Woodhouse, of Scotchwood,</i>	101

	PAGE.
<i>Some Account of a Saxon Inscription, on a Stone found near Falstone, in the County of Northumberland, in a Letter to Robert Spearman, Esq. of Sewing Shields, from the Rev. James Wood, Minister of the Scotch Chapel at Falstone,</i>	103
<i>An Account of the Seal of the last Treasurer of the Augustine Monastery at Canterbury, in a Letter to the Rev. Wm. Turner, by James Gomme, Esq., of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire,</i>	105
<i>Remarks on the Inscription to the Zodiacal Ceres, lately discovered at Caervorran, on the Roman Wall, in a Letter to the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec. by George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton, in the County of Durham,</i>	107
<i>An Enquiry into the Antiquity of an ancient Entrenchment, called Wardley, in the Parish of Jarrow, and County of Durham, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	112
<i>Observations on an ancient Aqueduct, and certain Heaps of Iron Scoria, in the Parish of Lanchester, in the County of Durham, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	118
<i>A Description of a Silver Ring found on Towton Moor, in the County of York, in 1770, and presented by the Rev. William Turner to the Society, in a Letter to Mr. Adamson, Secretary,</i>	122
<i>An Account of a Saxon Coin of Ecgfrith, King of Northumberland, presented to the Society by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	124
<i>An Account of an Inscription on Fallowfield Fell, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	126
<i>An Account of an Inscription discovered at Watwick Chesters, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	128
<i>An Account of two Bronze Figures discovered at the Roman Station near the Village of Benwell, in the County of Northumberland, and presented by Mr. John Stanton to the Society,</i>	131
<i>An Account of an ancient Camp, in the County of Cumberland, in a Letter from Mr. G. A. Dickson, to the Secretary,</i>	132

	PAGE.
<i>An Account of a Brass Coin of the Emperor Hadrian, in a Letter from Mr. J. Adamson, Secretary, to the Rev. J. Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	133
<i>An Account of the Seal of the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew, at Newcastle upon Tyne, in a Letter from Mr. J. T. Brockett, to the Council of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne,</i>	135
<i>De Annulo aureo Runicis Characteribus signato, nuper in Anglia invento, et pluribus ejusdem Generis, brevis Dissertatio, Auctore Finno Magnuson, Professore Havniensi, &c. &c. &c. ad Johannem Hodgson, Sec. A. S. Pontis Ælii, per literas missa,</i>	136
<i>An Account of an Inscription found near Binchester, in the County of Durham, communicated to Mr. Adamson, Secretary, by Ph. Orkney Skene, Esq.</i>	142
<i>Papers relative to the Plot in the North, in 1663, extracted by the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec. from the 31st Volume of the Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts, presented by the Rev. George Wasey, M. A. to the Hon. and Right Rev. Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham, and by him presented, in 1817, to the Library founded by Bishop Cousin, at Durham,</i>	143
<i>Calenders of the Prisoners confined in the High Castle in Newcastle upon Tyne, at the Assizes for Northumberland in the Years 1628 and 1629. Communicated by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	149
<i>Indentures between Sir Francis Brandling and Sir Thomas Swinburne in 1627; and Sir Thomas Swinburne and Thomas Carr, Esquire, in 1629, for delivering over the Gaol of Northumberland, extracted from Sir Thomas Swinburne's Sheriff's book, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	164
<i>A Copy of the Return of three Members of Parliament to serve for the County of Northumberland, in 1654. Communicated by Mr. John Bell,</i>	171

	PAGE.
<i>On the Court Party in the House of Commons, in 1677, communicated by Walter Calverley Trevelyan, of Wallington, Esq. to Mr. Adamson, Secretary,</i>	173
<i>An Account of certain Instruments formerly used for the Purpose of Blasting in the Lead Mines of Colonel and Mrs. Beaumont, at Allenheads. Communicated by Mr. Thomas Crawhall, of Newcastle upon Tyne,</i>	182
<i>Papers relating to the general History of the County of Durham, in the Time of Charles II. extracted from the 31st Volume of the Mickleton Collection; and communicated by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	187
<i>An Account of certain Arrow Heads of bronze, found near Mount Caucasus, and communicated to the late Rev. J. D. Carlyle, by his Excellency M. Tomara, Ambassador for Russia at Constantinople,</i>	201
<i>An Account of a Roman Ring found at Halton Chesters, and of a Bas Relief Figure of Neptune found at Carrow, in Northumberland, in a Letter to John Adamson, F. A. S. &c. &c. from John Trevelyan, Esq. of Wallington,</i>	203
<i>An Account of some Antiquities found at Norby Estate, in Norway, in a Letter from Mr. Peterson to the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec.</i>	205
<i>An Account of a Sepulchral Inscription, discovered at Little Chesters, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. Anthony Hedley, A. M.</i>	208
<i>An original Letter of the Reign of Henry VIII. without the date of the year, in the Chapter House, Westminster, with Observations thereon, in a Letter from John Caley, Esq. F. S. A., &c. &c. to the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	213
<i>Some Account of an ancient Plan of Tynemouth, in the County of Northumberland, in a Letter from the Rev. John Hodgson, to John Adamson, Esq. Secretary,</i>	216
<i>Extract from a German Pamphlet, intitled "A Tour along the Devil's Wall," published as a Specimen of a projected History of</i>	

	PAGE.
<i>Bavaria, by J. Andreas Buchner, Professor at the Royal Bava- rian Lyceum at Regensburg, translated by the Rev. Hugh Salvin,</i>	219
<i>Observations on the Altar and Inscription found at Tynemouth in the year 1781, by Mr. Thomas Hodgson,</i>	231
<i>An Account of a Roman Station, near Glanton, Northumberland, in a Letter from John Smart, Esq. of Trewitt, to the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>	239
<i>An Essay towards ascertaining the Etymology of the Names of Places in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. Anthony Hedley, M. A.</i>	242
<i>Observations on the Roman Station of Housesteads, and on some Mithraic Antiquities discovered there, in a Letter from the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary, to the Rev. A. Hedley, of Newcastle upon Tyne,</i>	263

APPENDIX.—NO. I.— <i>An Account of a Roman Altar, presented by Mr. G. A. Dickson, of Newcastle, to the Society,</i>		3
NO. II.— <i>An Account of two Roman Altars, by Mr. G. A. Dickson,</i>		4
NO. III.— <i>An Account of an ancient Sword, in a Letter to Mr. Adamson, Secretary, by Mr. Culley,</i>		5
NO. IV.— <i>Inscriptions found at Old Carlisle, in Cumberland, com- municated by Mr. G. A. Dickson,</i>		ib.
NO. V.— <i>Account of a bronze Stamp, or Seal, in the form of a Cross, presented to the Society, by Mr. Dickson,</i>		ib.
NO. VI.— <i>Some Notice respecting an Inscription on the Bell of Heworth Chapel, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary,</i>		ib.
NO. VII.— <i>A List of a Collection of Roman Antiquities, found prin- cipally at, or near, Housesteads, and which have lately come into the possession of the Society,</i>		7

LIST OF DONATIONS.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

ON THE
STUDY OF ANTIQUITIES.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY AT ITS SECOND MONTHLY MEETING.

BY THE
REV. JOHN HODGSON, SECRETARY.

SOCIETY has a right to expect, both from individuals, and from bodies of men, that their labours and enquiries be directed to some useful end. Concerning the origin of this right, I forbear any discussion, supposing it cannot be misunderstood ; for even experience may teach us, that, in a community of persons, attention to mutual wants is indispensably incumbent on every one. In moral matters, childhood and old age need only be mentioned to refresh our memories with the truth of this position ; and the plain impossibility of each individual learning the various arts, connected with procuring for himself an adequate supply of the necessaries suited to the nature of social life, sufficiently demonstrates its utility in every other point of view. We are necessary to each other, and this necessity obtains every possible degree of modification, by dividing the different branches of the arts, science, and manufactures, into distinct callings ; and by the force of impressions made on our minds so near the time of infancy as often to be mistaken for innate propensities.

But utility is not a striking feature of some of the pursuits that have eagerly engaged the attention of individuals in every civilized nation, and in all ages of the world ; and of this class is the Study of Antiquities. The mind does not at first sight perceive any advantage that can arise to society from contemplations on the ruins of cities, camps, and the remains of objects connected with the arts, or the military or domestic affairs, of the people that have preceded the æra we live in.

All nations have had perpetual examples of contrivance directed by instinct before their eyes, in the nests of birds, and in the systematic arrangement observable in the habitations of the ant and beaver, and in the cells of bees, hornets, wasps, and other insects. No one,

I think, could inspect the curious work of the weaving and the sowing birds, without applying the principles of their art to his own necessities ; and after minutely inspecting the wonderful economy of an ant hill, one may perceive how strongly Solomon's advice to the sluggard that he should " go to the ant, learn her ways, and be wise," appears to be applicable to the wisest and most industrious. But the first exertions of instinctive art are never exceeded by a repetition of trials, while each successive effort of human ingenuity is usually a step to improvement,—an approximation to a species of perfection, which, in works of arts, there is always a possibility of imitating, as long as the prototype exists, and concerning which no arbitrary height can be fixed as the highest to be attained ; for, in human things, I think, we must allow, that whatever is in itself superior and excellent, at present, may itself be excelled.

The Colleges of Numa, the Casts of India, the Guilds and Mysteries of our own nation, were all political expedients contrived and sanctioned for the purpose of continuing the knowledge, and perpetuating the improvements, in the several arts for which they were instituted.—Where artisans work only from model, where the secrets of a trade are not recorded in books, and especially where the art of printing has not contributed to perpetuate the experience of ingenious persons, without such institutions, valuable discoveries would not only be liable to perish with their authors ; but every depression, in the political circumstances of a country, would threaten to obliterate all but the names of many useful arts.

While the Apollo Belvidere or the horses of Lysippus exist, we have specimens before us of the state of statuary more than three centuries before the Christian æra. The same observation is applicable to the arts of making earthen ware, coining, compounding metals, engraving on precious stones, to architecture, and the manufacturing of objects capable of resisting the attacks of time. But though Pliny tells us, that the ancient painters found the larch to be immortal in tablets, and that it never cracked, yet, supposing the metaphor of his language to be founded on something analogous to truth, after the storm of ignorance and barbarity which extinguished the glory and overturned the grandeur of the Roman empire, where shall we look for the works of Apelles, or Protogenes ; and, with a knowledge of the various substances they employed in their art, be gratified with seeing that perfection, to which painting had arrived in their times, and concerning which the expressions of ancient authors, and the almost inimitable workmanship of the gems, medals, and statues of those ages, are a sort of humiliating and unwelcome recorders of an excellence, to which modern ingenuity has never yet been able to arrive ?

That there exists in human nature a propensity to this pursuit is evident, from the anxiety all classes of people evince to be acquainted with the history of the places wherein they were born, or to which they have become attached by residence or property. The antiquity of a man's family, of his house, or his village, is narrated with a pleasure which seems to increase as the history of the object grows older ; and when records fail, the obscurity of fable is employed to lengthen the importance of these " simple annals." Most of nations

deduce their origin from gods and fabulous heroes, and the poorest villagers of our country, if they have nothing to relate concerning their own families or habitations, are seldom without legendary traditions about battles, fairies, or ghosts, to beguile the tedium of a winter's evening.

The earliest inhabitants of the world, finding oral tradition a defective recorder of events, and that places, which had been sanctified by any act of piety, or rendered remarkable by any great transaction, were soon forgotten, erected rude pillars, or threw up mounds of earth, or heaps of stones, to preserve their memory. The projectors of the Tower of Babel encouraged each other to "build a city and a tower having its summit in heaven, that they might acquire a name—lest they should be dispersed over the face of the whole earth"* and forgotten. The memorable pillar which Jacob set up in Beth-el;† the pillar and the heap of witness in memory of his agreement with Laban;‡ and the pillar of Padan-aram, § were all erected to preserve, in the minds of his offspring, a grateful sense of the transactions they were intended to record. The twelve stones, which Joshua commanded to be set up in the midst of the river Jordan, he informed his army were for "a sign among them, that when their children asked their fathers in time to come, saying: What mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them: That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord: when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off; and these stones shall be for a *memorial* unto the children of Israel for ever."|| Samuel, after a battle with the Philistines, set up a stone "between Mizpeth and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer," that is, the stone of help.¶ After describing the different ceremonies performed at the funeral of Patroclus, Homer tells us—

"That done, they bid the sepulchre aspire,
"And cast the deep foundations round the pire:
"High in the midst they heap the swelling bed
"Of rising earth, memorial of the dead."**

And the spirit of Agamemnon, in the regions of the dead, thus addresses Achilles—

"Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround
"Thy destin'd tomb, and cast a mighty mound:
"High o'er the shore the growing hill we raise,
"That wide th' extended Hellespont surveys;
"Where all from age to age that pass the coast,
"May point Achilles' tomb, and hail the mighty ghost."††

* Gen. xi. 4.

† Gen. xxviii. 18.

‡ Gen. xxxi. 45, &c.

§ Gen. xxxv. 14.

|| Josh. xvii. 4, &c.

¶ I. Sam. vii. 12.

** Pope's Homer's Iliad, book 23, line 317.

†† Pope's Homer's Odyssey, book 24, line 101, &c.

The tomb, which the army of Alexander raised over the remains of Demartus, was of "vast perimeter, and eighty cubits high."* In the more advanced ages of civilization, these memorials of the "mighty dead" were covered with hieroglyphic records, and, at length, the strong desire in man, to have his name and actions distinctly and surely told among succeeding generations, impelled him to engrave them on rocks and tablets of stone, and perpetuate the glory of his country in histories.

Thus it would appear, that these propensities of mankind to preserve the memory of past events, and to ask their forefathers concerning any pillar or other monument of antiquity: "What mean ye by these stones," have prevailed since the earliest ages of the world.—All animated nature clings to life; and that part of us, in which is seated the desire which has drawn and bound us together in this society, is not satisfied, even with the prospect of a better and longer existence; but mingles its cup of aversion to die, with the hope that its remembrance will be long cherished amongst its friends and descendants after it has emigrated from this life. The numerous inscriptions on altars, tombs, and all kinds of buildings, strongly mark this inclination for posthumous fame; and the thirst shewn among all classes of people to learn the meaning, date, and history of such remains of former ages, as clearly points out the corresponding propensity to keep in mind, and be acquainted with, the persons and the works of former ages. Nor are we without considerable evidence that the most polite nations of antiquity affected this study, with as much eagerness as modern nations have done. Cato, the elder, wrote a book on the antiquities of cities in Italy; and Tacitus informs us, that "Germanicus, when Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus were Consuls, made a tour into Egypt to view its antiquities.—He sailed up the Nile, from Canopus, a city, which the Spartans built in memory of a pilot of that name, whom they buried there, at the time Menelaus, on his return to Greece, was driven on the Lybian coast. From thence he went to the mouth of the Nile, dedicated to Hercules, who, as the natives contend, was born among them, and the first who bore that name, succeeding heroes having honoured his memory by suffering themselves to be called after him. Then he visited the extensive remains of Thebes, where Egyptian characters, on obelisks, described its former opulence; and which one of the eldest of their priests interpreted to him. He saw the statue of Memnon, which, though wrote in stone, gives a vocal sound when the rays of the sun strike it; the pyramids, resembling mountains, raised in almost impassable sands, by the emulation of kings; the lake made by the labour of man to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and, in certain straits of the river, places of such profound depth, that they had never been sounded. He also went to Elephanticè and Scyenè, formerly the boundaries of the Roman empire, which now extends to the Red Sea."

The miscellaneous works of Plutarch, commonly called his *Morals*, abound with profound enquiries into the antiquities of several nations; and his two books on Greek and Roman

* Plut. Vit. p. 1277, Ed. Hen. Stephani, an. 1572.

Questions, he recommends as treatises on the manners and customs of those countries, "which may answer their turn very well, who, reading old authors, are desirous to know the particulars of antiquity."*

The *Hellados Periegesis* of Pausanias is a topographical work, which contains very minute and accurate descriptions of the most celebrated cities, temples, and other public buildings, with the history of their origin, and enumerations of the most remarkable objects of antiquity preserved in them in his time: it abounds with interesting notices of battles, the fields on which they were fought, the monuments that were erected to their memory—with accounts of the statues and tombs of the most distinguished of the Greeks, and of rites and customs which have long ceased to exist.

There is, perhaps, a sort of indefinable regret constantly hanging about our minds, that our lives and knowledge are so circumscribed, that we cannot more strongly assimilate our mental faculties to that Infinite Perfection, who "made us after his own image," and has a distinct comprehension of the whole economy of his works. The largest circle of darkness, that any human intellect ever yet investigated, is a little one, when compared with the orbits of the planets; and these are but insignificant rings, when set in opposition to the immensity of space, which the divine understanding fills and illuminates. But to us, not only the operations of nature are either inexplicably mysterious or indistinctly known; but the greater part of the history of the families of the world, that have passed behind the goal of the present time, is for ever removed from the reach of our observation. Daylight has shone on all the places and generations of the people that have preceded us; but how little of their experience has been recorded for our benefit! how obscure the history of those among them that are best known! No ingenious and well educated mind could, I think, but be gratified with seeing the annals of his country accurately analyzed, and the dregs of fable filtered off; and even those who fix their minds on objects more sensibly beneficial to the world, certainly could not refuse to rejoice at the discovery (suppose in the deflagrated ruins of Herculaneum or Pompeia) of some account of the progress of that refinement, or some treatise on those arts that led to the enviable greatness of the nations of antiquity. But look at Greece, once the favourite abode of liberty, the land of politeness, the cradle of heroes, the seat of learning; now inhabited by slaves, the nurse of ignorance and superstition! Italy, that of old, called her dominions "*orbis terrarum*", and boasted so many goodly cities, the sun of her glory has long since gone down, and her inhabitants been swayed by petty tyrants or foreign powers. How finely has Sulpicius, in a letter to Cicero, represented this notion of the weakness of man, by contrasting it with the ruins of the most splendid of his works. "Returning," says he, "out of Asia, as I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began to view the country all around. Ægina was behind me, before me Megara, on the right Piræus, on the left Corinth, all in former times most flourishing cities; but now they lie prostrate and in ruins before my eyes. I began to think within

* Holland's Translation, p. 888.

myself: Ah! shall we, shadows of creatures, shall we be indignant, if one of us die or be slain, when in one place the carcases of so many cities bestrew the earth.”*

When, indeed, the mind reflects that there is a principle in nature, which, by constant, though imperceptible, industry, dissolves the strongest and most beautiful monuments of human skill; and that this principle often finds powerful assistance in wars and civil commotions, how can it but behold with admiration and pleasure any object that has escaped, through a long series of ages, the reiterated attacks of this combined enemy? Who is there so dull and incurious, that if he should be shewn the tombs of one of the Jewish prophets, or the sepulchre where the author of our religion was laid, would not approach it with reverence, and examine it with care? Who would not wish he could say, that he had trod the plains of Issus, where Alexander defeated Darius; of Cannæ, memorable for the overthrow of the Romans, by Hannibal; or to witness, on the plains of Pharsalia, the fulfilment of this prophecy of Virgil?—

“ The time, indeed, shall come, when in these fields,
 “ Turning the soil, some hind, with crooked plough,
 “ Shall spears discover, eaten through with rust;
 “ With pond’rous harrows dash ’gainst empty helms,
 “ And bones enormous, wond’ring, dig from tombs.”†

The writers of romances and novels have discovered, that the best of the human passions is often most effectually called out amongst scenes, which favour antiquarian contemplation; and have, therefore, laid many of their finest plots within the walls of decaying castles, or heightened their narratives with descriptions of the ruins of monastic edifices, crowned with ivy, and gilded with moon-beams. Indeed all the best modifications of our passions and affections are never more satisfactorily employed than in meditating over the wrecks of ancient times. What piety is there so cold as could not be warmed among the ruins of Jerusalem, on the banks of Kedron, or on the heights of Calvary? Which of us, without horror and virtuous indignation, could visit the chambers of the Tower of London, where Tyrrel, at

* *Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant?* Cic. Ep. lib. iv. ep. 5.

† *Scilicet et tempus veniet cum finibus illis
 Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
 Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila,
 Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
 Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.* Geor. lib. i. 493

the command of Richard the Third, smothered the King's young nephews, Edward the Fifth and the Duke of York? We find Shakespeare lamenting to see a fine religious edifice falling together from neglect, in the following beautiful passage :—

“ O it pities me
 “ To see these antique walls and hallowed towers
 “ Split with the winter's frost, or mould'ring down.
 “ Their very ruins ruined ; the crushed pavement,
 “ Time's marble register, deep o'ergrown
 “ With hemlock and rank fumitory, hides,
 “ Together with their perishable mould,
 “ The brave man's trophies and the good man's praise,
 “ Envyng the worth of buried ancestry.”

A cabinet of ancient medals not only fills us with admiration at the excellency of their workmanship, and instructs us in the mythology, architecture, dress, and the shape and use of various articles connected with the war, government, religion, and domestic concerns of the times in which they were struck ; but it brings us into the presence and friendship of the worthies of Greece and Rome. With Alexander before us, we seem to “ fight his battles o'er again.” We stand doubtful whether the more to admire or condemn the conduct of Cæsar ; and as we examine the lines of Tiberius's brow, we sigh at the hopelessness of seeing liberty and security in a nation, while its throne is filled by a sullen and artful tyrant.

But perhaps the obscurity, in which the antiquary's pursuits are generally involved, is not the least contributor to his pleasure. We are naturally gratified with making new discoveries, and with overcoming difficulties. We love to make the little candle of our intellect extend its light as far as possible : and it is only by constant exercise, that we can tutor our eyes to see objects that lie on the verge of the circle of darkness which surrounds the brightest understandings ; and at that point, every thing, as if enveloped in a mist, represents itself to us in a magnitude and importance greater than is real. The deception invites us forward, and the avidity of our enquiry increases as certainty is removed, or truth assumes a more shadowy and incomprehensible form.

This employment is shaded with a mixture of satisfaction and melancholy, suitable to minds that love to retire, at times, from the hurry and confusion of the world. It is calculated to raise up in us a source of enjoyment, and to bring us into the company of friends, which we can never hope to be blessed with in the exercise of our worldly engagements. “ Nunquam minus solus, quam quum solus,” as Cowley observes, “ is now become a vulgar saying : it has been in the mouth of every man, and almost every boy, since the days of Scipio.” This sort of retirement and meditation strengthens us, and sends us out again into life more capable of opposing its evils, enjoying its true pleasures, and honourably executing our several engagements in it. And even here, when we begin to grow tired with close

attention to truth, we have the boundless regions of past ages in which fancy may expatiate, and take as extended flights as in those of futurity. After we have seen the Roman Eagle planted in the southern provinces of our island, and several of the tribes of Britain contending for freedom upwards of 120 years, against the legions of the mistress of the world, our imaginations might be warmed with the contemplation of the celebrated barriers which extend from this place to the Western Sea—with the spectacle of the Emperor Hadrian, at the head of his legions, excavating his vallum; of Severus widening and strengthening it; and of the soldiers and an enervated peasantry, about the time of Gallio, sheltering their frontier from their northern invaders, behind the laborious, but cowardly, defence of walls and towers. And it is not difficult to raise in one's mind an idea of some robust Pict, in attempting to scale the battlements of Pons Ælii, perishing on its glacis, by the javelin of a Roman soldier, and thus rendering the spot, on which we now stand, sacred to liberty, as the establishment,* which at present occupies it, has, in latter times, consecrated it to literature.

This pursuit, however, distinguishes itself into two very different kinds. The vulgar antiquary, while he walks among the ruins of a city, is struck with wonder, and fixes his observation most upon their extent, their state of preservation, the largeness of their columns, and the difficulty of lifting the massive blocks of stone into the several situations they occupy: he is an admirer of coins on account of their rarity, their age, the beauty of their rust, or from some accidental variety which marks them: he values his collection of manuscripts, or rare editions of books, merely because they are old, or that they issued from the presses of Faust, Caxton, or other early printers. But the judicious antiquary considers the various objects of his contemplation with a learned eye; and imposes a value upon them in proportion to the quantity of light they throw upon the several departments of the history of the people to which they belong. He seizes hold of objects ready to perish, and gives them “a local habitation and a name.”

Perhaps in this country, our ideas of an antiquary are somewhat confined, and the ridicule, to which the attacks of Scriblerus, and other satirists, have exposed the character, have abridged it of its just proportion of public regard.†

* This Essay was read in one of the rooms of the Literary and Philosophical Society, in Newcastle, with which we were kindly accommodated by that body, till the Corporation honoured us with apartments in the Castle.

† Blount, in his *Microcosmography*, tells us “an antiquary is a great admirer of the rust of old monuments, and reads only those characters where time hath eaten out the letters. He will go you forty miles to see a Saint's well, or a ruined abbey; and if there be but a cross or stone footstool in the way, he'll be considering it so long, till he forget his journey. His estate consists much in shekels and Roman coins; and he hath more pictures of Cæsar than James or Elizabeth. Beggars cozen him with musty things which they have raked from dung-hills; and he preserves their rags for precious relics. He loves no library but where there are more spider's volumes than others, and looks with great admiration on the antique work of cobwebs. Printed books he condemns, as a novelty of this latter age,

Under the influence of first reflections on the subject, we should perhaps define him to be one who collects and explains the use of such objects of human skill as belong to past ages. But, I think, a nearer examination of the case will discover his employment to consist in the illustration of the general history and pursuits of mankind in ancient times, from visible objects. The historian draws his materials from facts, transacted in his own times; and the annals of every country are complete or imperfect, in proportion to the complement of facts thus recorded, and the regular succession of its historians. The antiquary attempts to illustrate and confirm the pages of history by contemporary objects. If history leaves us deficient in the date of a battle, the age of some public building, or the death of an emperor; some medal or inscription, perhaps, records the required information. But it is not merely in the labyrinths of history that he walks. He is not satisfied with ranging in one department of literature. The policy, laws, religion, and manners of old times, engage his attention; and he loves to examine into the arts, and define the boundaries of ancient empires; to follow the emigrations of the early families of the world; and to show how, by little and little, they spread over the surface of the whole globe. Truth, in combination with mystery, doubt, uncertainty, and superstition, he laboriously searches after, and scrupulously analyzes: He ranges through the world at large, meditating upon men and things as they existed in past ages.

The restorers of letters in Italy, among the many other excellent qualifications which they possessed, were all profound antiquaries. While some of them travelled in search of ancient manuscripts, others were employed in writing commentaries upon and editing them; and many in collecting the coins and statues, and studying the architecture, and reanimating the arts of Athens and of Rome. The eyes, indeed, of many of these able men never became sufficiently strong to look on truth in its native brightness. While every sentence of the works of Cicero was made to comply with the rules of the rhetoric and logic, which prevailed at that time, the pages of natural history were darkened with astrological superstitions, and their criticisms, on matters of antiquity, were often polluted with the cabalistic and other childish mysteries. The hammers, for instance, hatchets, arrow-heads, and other instruments of stone, used to this day by people unacquainted with the use of metals, and which are often dug up in various parts of Europe, were by Gesner, Agricola, and others, confounded with meteoric stones: though they might have found knives of stone mentioned by Moses and in the book of Joshua, as employed in the rite of circumcision, a use to which they are said to be still applied by the people of Alnajah, a nation of Ethiopia.*

But though our employment must be of a more humble nature than that of the early

but a MS. he pores on everlastingly, especially if the cover be all moth-eaten, and the dust make a parenthesis between every syllable. He would give all the books in his study (which are rarities all) for one of the old Roman binding, or six lines of Tully in his own hand."

* Ludophus' *Æthiopic Hist.* book 3, chap. i. quoted by Parkhurst under *yr*. See also *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1789, p. 799.

antiquaries ;—though we can scarcely hope to have the honour of discovering and publishing any valuable manuscript, or of illustrating antiquities equal in interest to those of Asia Minor, or of Italy ; yet the four counties, to which our labours are to be primarily directed, present us with a field rich in Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, and monastic Antiquities ; and in which, numerous objects connected with the manners, property, and general history of its inhabitants, are as yet very inadequately explained. The remains of the Roman Wall, though largely described about the middle of the last century, by the accurate and judicious Horsley, are still but slightly investigated ; and the received opinions respecting the constructors of the several parts of it, seem to be founded on very inaccurate criticism. The same observations are applicable to the state of our information on the castles and camps with which the interesting district of the borders abound. The popular superstitions of the common people, now, it is to be hoped, fast vanishing away before the light of truth, are also worthy of our attention ; and much curious matter in philology might be gleaned from well selected lists of vulgar words, and the names of farm-houses, glens, brooks, and especially of fields.

The prosperity of this Society altogether depends upon its members. If our meetings be taken up merely with conversations, and our attention directed only to collecting books and trifling curiosities, it will either die in its infancy, or, at best, draw out a feeble existence. But if any real gratification is to arise to us as individuals, or respectability to attach to us as a body, they can only be effected by every member zealously contributing his portion of knowledge ; and each of us certainly has it in his power, by adding something to the common stock of information, to further the designs of the institution. Should it, unhappily, be discovered, that drones have been admitted into the hive—that we have members among us that neither desire nor endeavour to promote its interest and honour, watchfulness will be necessary to guard against any accession of their numbers. In a constellation, however dim, there may be stars of different degrees of brightness, and even some that shine with borrowed lustre ; and in literary societies, it is to be expected, that there will be persons, not only of various gradations of capacity and attainment, but even some that can delight themselves with gilding their names with the reflection of other men's celebrity. The meanness of such a spirit need scarcely be pointed out, and, I trust, it will be long before it shew itself here. In prosecuting the business we have undertaken, we must not confide in numerical strength ; our industry must be directed by intelligence, and by endeavouring to deserve the support and countenance of the distinguished personages, who patronise and preside over us with such munificence and fatherly attention. For, should any unhappy circumstance withdraw from us the light and honour we derive from this source, our sustenance and good report would too certainly fail ; but because the glory of ancestry—the reputation so justly due to families, who, in spite of the infatuating nature of wealth, have preserved their names and properties through a long series of ages, cannot but fill the minds of their possessors with high reverence for every thing allied to the

history and times of their worthy forefathers, we may never doubt of flourishing under the auspices that shine upon us, while our labours are assiduously employed in the objects of the Society.

I conclude this incoherent essay with observing, that it is only by a retrospect into past ages, that we know whether the world be improving in refinement, or at a stand; and though this study never ought to be put in comparison, in point of utility, with many of the pursuits of the human mind; with such, for instance, as relate to our moral and physical wants; yet, when I contemplate the vast advantages, that must ever accrue to society by a due cultivation of the simplicity and experience of the early ages of the world, I cannot, I think, too severely stigmatise that insatiable appetite for variety and novelty which disgraces the learning, manners, and religion of these days, or too cordially agree with Cicero, that *antiquitas proximè ad deos accedit*, both with respect to time and merit.

ARCHAEOLOGIA ÆLIANA.



Some Account of a Set of Gold Beads, presented to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, by HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTH-UMBERLAND, in a Letter to THOS. DAVIDSON, Esq. O. M. from the REV. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

DATA.—“THESE 15 beads were found under a cairn in Chesterhope Common, in the Manor of Ridsdale, in July, 1814.

“What has been the use of these I cannot tell, though I remember to have seen an ancient sword, that had some gold beads, somewhat similar to these, which were placed loosely upon the bar at the back of the pommel of the sword, as an ornament.”—*Extract from His Grace's letter to Mr. T. Davidson, 14th May, 1815.*

“I shall be curious to know the use formerly made of that piece of antiquity I took the liberty of sending the Society, as well as of the æra to which it belonged. I confess the shape and length of the bar of metal on which the beads are placed, and in which condition I

understand they were found, puzzles me to conceive how it could be adapted to the human body as an ornament, and I mentioned the possibility of its having served as the bar or guard behind the handle of the sword, from having seen something similar, so affixed to an old Saxon sword, at the Society of Antiquaries in London, several years ago, which was exhibited there."—*Extract from His Grace's letter to Mr. T. Davidson, June 19, 1815.*

The Common of Chesterhope, in the county of Northumberland, is crossed by that branch of Watling-street, which traverses Redesdale into Scotland; and the Roman station *Habitancum*, or Risingham, is contiguous to it. Numerous remains of antiquity have been discovered in this station and its environs: and were it not for the circumstance that Roman antiquities are never, as far as I am acquainted with the subject, found under cairns, I should without hesitation have pronounced these beads to have belonged to that people, both from their contiguity to Roman works, and from the excellence of their workmanship.

I would not, however, advance the circumstance of their being found under a cairn, as an exclusive evidence against their Roman origin; for cairn burial has been in use from the earliest ages of the world. Joshua "burned" the body of Achan "with fire," and then raised over him a great heap of stones, which remain to this day,"—"And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide; and as soon as the sun was gone down, Joshua commanded that they should take his body down from the tree, and cast it at the entering in of the gate of the city; and raise thereon, a great heap of stones, that remaineth to this day."*—Sometimes they buried the body, and immediately after threw a cairn over it: "and they took Absalom and cast him into a great pit in the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him."† And the following quotation from Ezekiel ‡: "The passengers that pass through the land, when any seeth a man's bone, then shall he set

* Joshua, vii. 26; and viii. 29.

† 11 Sam. xviii. 17.

‡ xxxix. 15.

up a sign by it, till the buriers have buried it in Hamon-gog," probably refers to the practice, which in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland prevails to this day, of persons, as they pass by a cairn, adding a stone to it: indeed, in that country, it is not uncommon for persons attending a funeral, to take each a stone with them to throw upon the grave of the deceased; and, if he was a person of considerable respect, of adding another, each time they come near his grave. Shaw, too, in the preface to his travels, says, that he often met with heaps of stones in Barbary, Arabia, and in the Holy Land, which have from time to time been raised over murdered travellers, for the Arabs, from a superstitious reverence for the dead, have a custom of casting a stone upon them every time they pass by them; on the contrary, according to Sandys, the pillar of Absalom, which "in his life time he had taken and reared for himself in the king's dale,"* is still standing, and the Turks, from motives of abhorrence to his memory, throw a stone at it each time they pass it, so that it is now more than half buried amongst stones.

Diodorus says, that the Baleares, a people of Minorca, threw heaps of stones over their dead; and Armstrong, in his history of that island, notices certain cairns there, from 80 to 90 feet high. Pausanias relates, that when Laius was slain by his son Œdipus, stones were heaped up over him and his companions. The Bogri of the Russians, which are both circles and heaps of stones, are abundant in Siberia† and Tartary.

Torphæus tells us that Odin introduced into Scandinavia the custom of burning the dead; and cairns are exceedingly numerous in that district, especially in Norway.

King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, strongly contends that all the barrows and cairns, so numerous scattered over the different parts of this island, are of British or Celtic origin; and escapes the difficulty of attributing those *barrows*, in which evident Roman antiquities are found, to Roman origin, by ascribing them to British officers in the

* ii Sam. xviii. 18.

† Strahlenberg's Description, &c.
B 2

Roman service, for there are very many instances of coins, armour, jewelry, &c. bearing Latin legends and inscriptions, being found in these *artificial mounds of earth thrown up over the dead*.

Whether all the cairns of England belonged to the Celtic or Druidical Britons,; or some part of them are to be attributed to that race of people, and the rest to the nations that migrated out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway into this country, after its desertion by the Romans, does, however, in a great measure, depend upon the controverted point respecting the identity between the Celts and the ancient possessors of the Cimbric Chersonesus. This difficulty I shall not take upon me to remove; but certain it is that both in Norway and Britain, the contents of these tombs bear the strongest similarity: they consist of armour, beads of glass and amber; spear-heads of cast brass; axes, hammers, and other instruments of stone; a circumstance, which, if it proves nothing else, very evidently points out the common propensities and common helplessness of each nation, at the time when such implements were in use. In all the countries, from Britain to Tartary, this mode of burial has, at one æra or another, very commonly prevailed.


Any attempt to fix the æra of the antiquities in question, drawn from the use of ornaments of gold, will be liable to equal difficulties with that deduced from the history of cairns. About 1860 years before the time of Christ, we find the steward of Abraham presenting an ear-ring and bracelets of gold to Rebecca. The ear-ring weighed about 4½ dwts. and the bracelets about 4½ oz. That the bracelet was of a flexible nature is pretty evident from its Hebrew name, *Jemid*, which implies that it was worn with a hasp or some such fastening. The same remark is applicable to the golden chains, which Moses took from the Midianites, and to that which was found upon the arm of Saul after his death. All these appear to have been either chains or beads of solid gold, especially the princely gift presented to Rebecca. It was not, however, from any ignorance of the ductile properties of gold that the ancients often formed it into such massive ornaments,—

Moses, in many instances, speaks about overlaying wood with gold. Homer describes the manner of gilding the horns of a bull, destined for sacrifice, with gold-leaf; and Pliny remarks that Homer's men plaited gold into their hair, a custom, which he could not determine, whether or not they had derived from women: He also tells us that cloth, interwoven with gold, was called *attalicus*, from Attalus king of Pergamus, the inventor of that species of splendid attire. The kind of rolled gold, which most resembled that of which the beads of Chesterhope cairn were made, was called *Prænestina bractea* at Rome, from an image of fortune being overlaid with it at Præneste.

The custom of burying valuable articles with the body of their proprietor, is also very ancient. Ezekiel speaks of "the mighty that are fallen among the uncircumcised, which are gone down to Hades with their weapons of war, and that have laid their swords under their heads." The *τετλησεν αγαλματια* of Euripides, were probably the favourite arms or ornaments that were buried with the bodies of their owners.—Herodotus says, that the old Scythians had such plenty of gold, that other metals were not in esteem among them, and that they interred vessels of it with their dead. And Torphæus says, that Odin, with the custom of burying the dead, taught the people of Scandinavia to bury with them the most costly things they possessed at the time of their decease. Agreeably with these historical notices, we find the cairns and barrows, through almost all parts of the world, abounding with jewelry, armour, implements of war, and domestic utensils. The celebrated barrows in Tartary are in all probability the tombs of the Scythian Kings*; though a modern writer in the *Archæologia* has with great plausibility contended, that they belong to the latter end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. In one of these, a golden chain of several links, set with rubies, and bracelets of gold, were found upon the body of a queen, which was partly covered with a robe, and laid between two plates of fine gold. The king's body was also laid between sheets of gold,

* See Herodotus, *Melp.* chap. 73.

and was folded in a robe embroidered with gold, rubies, and emeralds. The four sheets of gold weighed 40 lbs. The Bogri in Siberia and Tartary also contain plates and trinkets of gold, and weapons of cast brass of that kind, which are commonly called Celts. In Norway, where the agriculturalist has not been tempted to remove them, cairns are still exceedingly numerous; and when opened, are found to contain ashes and bones, sometimes in urns, at others in kiswaens, and generally accompanied with armour, trinkets, drinking vessels, and even with axes and hammers of stone. The trinkets consist of beads of glass and amber, and a great variety of ornaments of gold. Drinking vessels of that metal, in the form of horns, are not unfrequently discovered; there are several of them in the Museum of Antiquities in Copenhagen; and in that of the Military School, in Christiania, there is a great variety of smaller articles in gold, collected from various parts of Norway, but chiefly from the cairns in the neighbourhood of North Bergen: indeed, as far back as records reach, gold has been in high estimation among the inhabitants of Norway. The gilded and jewelled helmet of king Hagen Athelstan, in his great battle with the sons of Eric Bloodax (about A. D. 939), gave occasion to a very remarkable proof of his valour*; and, even to this day, the country people in the dales of Norway, whose language bears a very strong affinity to the dialects of the northern counties of England, have a strong passion for ornaments made of thin gold and silver.

By a reference to the Indexes of the Archæologia, it will be found that the cairns and tumuli of Great Britain abound with as great a variety of the works of art, as those of the countries already enumerated; but *beads of gold* have been rarely taken notice of amongst British sepulchral antiquities. Thirteen were found in a tumulus, in the parish of Upton Lovel, in Wiltshire, in 1803: they were in the shape of a drum,  having two ends to screw off, and perforated in the middle. Several other articles of pure thin gold, beads of amber, a lance head, &c. were found with them. The circumstance of amber

* Sn. Sterlsen's Norse Krönike.

beads being so plentifully found in the old tombs in England, I think, evinces a correspondence to have existed between the people of this country and those of the shores of the Baltic, where amber is principally found, at the time when these tombs were constructed.

“ Dr. Pocock exhibited, 1755, a drawing of a gold bracelet, found about thirty years before, in Waterford county, near Whitfiella, the seat of William Christmas, Esq. under a heap of stones, near Lisnekil church. On the top of this heap, which was removed to be employed in building, was a stone set upright, and under it a cavity, in which was the bracelet. It is very thin, two inches five-eighths long, three inches diameter, and somewhat less in the middle than at the end; and near it stood a small urn, about six inches high and four at the mouth, containing bones and ashes.”—*Archæol. vol. v. p. 41.*

Since christianity finally prevailed in England, cairn-burial has not been in use. In 1016, Canute, after a great battle with Edmund Ironside, threw up four hillocks to commemorate the event, two of which were opened, and produced great quantities of bones, and chains like bridle bits; but even in that age, we shall find no instance of individuals, who died by the common visitations of nature, being buried out of church-yards. Barrows of a later date are the tombs of slaughtered armies, or set up in memory of battles. Three mounds were raised after the battle of Culloden, in 1746.

The method of burial amongst the early Saxon christians in England, was nearly the same as that which prevails at present. The venerable Bede relates, that as soon as St. Cuthbert died on Farn Island, his body was put into a boat and taken to Lindisfarne; where it was taken up by a large concourse of people, and by companies of singers, and buried in a stone coffin, on the right side of the altar, in the church of St. Peter*. St. Benedict, the founder of the monastery of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, was buried near the altar of the church of the former place; and, sometime after his interment, the abbot Huaecberct took up the bones of St. Easterwin and St. Sigfrid, successors of St. Benedict, and deposited them near his remains†.

* Vit. S. Cudb.

† Bæd. Hist. Abb. Uuirem. & Gyrv.

We know, however, that Druidism continued to linger in England, with great obstinacy, long after the time of Bede; for a law of Canute says:—"Prohibemus etiam serio, quod quis adoret ignem vel fluvium, torrens vel saxa, vel alicujus generis arborum ligna."* And, at the latter end of the sixth century, we find that an interdict had been found necessary against similar practices in France: "Veneratores lapidum, accensores facularum, et excolentes sacra fontium et arborum admonemus."†

Had the Chesterhope cairn produced any other remains besides these beads, additional data might have been afforded to judge upon concerning their use, the people they had belonged to, and their date. At first sight, I took them for an armilla or bracelet; and have sometimes imagined them to have been a pendant, one of that sort of ornaments which are among the common deposits of tombs, and which were not uncommonly suspended upon the breasts both of men and women; and at others, worn on the fronts of helmets, and on the brow-bands of horses' bridles;—(*see Judges* viii. 21.—viii. 26.) But from the information contained in the Duke of Northumberland's letters, especially from their having been placed upon a bar of metal, and having perforations about one-fourth of an inch in diameter, &c. to receive it, I am inclined to believe that they have belonged to the sword of a chieftain; for the metallic bar, and the largeness of the perforations for receiving it, are sufficient evidence that they were ornaments to some thing in which considerable strength was required: indeed the bar of metal, which his Grace mentions, and the shape and length of which seem to have determined his judgment, would, I suppose, greatly assist in one's forming an accurate opinion as to their use. If the bar be lost, it is unfortunate that a drawing of it had not been taken, and that the kind of metal of which it was composed had not been ascertained. That the beads were ornaments of some kind of armour, may, I think, be pretty strongly decided upon; and I would rather attribute them to a Saxon, a Norwegian, or a Dane of the Teutonic family, than to a

* Wilkins' Leg. Ang. Sax. p. 134.

† Concil Turon. A. D. 567.

person of the Celtic race; but I think it impossible to determine whether they belonged to those German tribes who had settled in Britain long prior to Cæsar's time, or to those who inundated this country after its desertion by the Romans, about A. D. 448. The instances I have given of the antiquity of the use of cairns, and of thin ornaments of gold, indeed sufficiently shew the difficulty of coming to any accurate conclusion respecting their date. If implements of brass had accompanied them, the probability would have been that they had belonged to very early settlers: iron weapons would have been an evidence of a more modern date. I repeat my persuasion, that they have been ornaments to a weapon of some kind; and, if I were pressed for a more decided declaration of my opinion, I should say, that they had belonged to the hilt of a sword. But as I am merely a tyro in the study of antiquities, I beg that you will receive my remarks with considerable doubt and hesitation. I feel disappointed that I am unable to give a decided opinion respecting the beads; but I am sure that in the circle of your acquaintance, you will be able to obtain an account of them from persons much better skilled in such matters than I am.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, your's, very sincerely,

JOHN HODGSON, Sec.

Extract of a letter from the Duke of Northumberland, to Thomas Davidson, Esq. of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sion, 16th July, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter, inclosing one from Mr. Hodgson, concerning the gold beads upon the bar, and am sorry he cannot give a more decided opinion respecting them. He is perfectly correct as to the antiquity and universality of cairns. Many exist in Cornwall, by the same name, and the same custom is rigidly preserved, of the passengers, as they go by, flinging up a stone to add to the heap. Cairns,

I am assured, likewise are frequent among the Cossacks, in Tartary, and even in parts of the East Indies, and the custom of adding a stone to the cairn is also constantly practised, and looked upon as a kind of religious duty, in all these different parts. It is therefore probable that the cairns had their origin in the east, and travelled westward, with those hords who inundated Europe, or have been previously brought into this island by the Druids.

Adieu, dear Sir, and be assured I ever am

Your's, most sincerely,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Thomas Davidson, Esq.

Communications respecting Implements of ancient Brass.

ON the 18th of February, 1815, Mr. Brumell presented to the Society an ancient sword blade, accompanied with the following letter from Mrs. St. Paul, of Ewart, in the county of Northumberland.

Ewart Park, Nov. 14, 1814.

SIR,

In consequence of a letter my son had the pleasure of receiving from you, I have forwarded to you one of the swords found at Ewart in the beginning of February, 1814, and request you will be so good as to present the same to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, whose views to preserve and illustrate the antiquities of the county of Northumberland I have much pleasure in endeavouring to promote.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

To John Brumell, Esq.

ANNE ST. PAUL.

Mr. Culley, of Akeld, favoured the Society with drawings of two swords found near Ewart, and in a letter addressed to Mr. Adamson, dated November 23, 1814, gives the following account of their discovery:—

The originals, from which these drawings were made, were found last February at Ewart Park, near Wooler, and are now in the possession of Mrs. St. Paul, the Lady of the Manor, by whose obliging permission these drawings were taken. The earth having been turned

up to the depth of six inches, on a grassy knowl hitherto unemployed, discovered the handles, the blades having been forced into the earth in a perpendicular manner, apparently for the purpose of concealment. The earth is a dry gravel, to which may be attributed their fine preservation.

Whether the blades have been used as swords, or as points to long spears, cannot be ascertained, as every vestige of the materials composing the handles is gone. As swords they are unwieldy to the arm, and unfit either for cutting or pushing with advantage.

The colour and weight resemble our mixed metal, called brass; but whether possessing the same component parts can be ascertained by analysis, to which there has been no opportunity of subjecting them. I leave to more able antiquaries to determine to what period or people they may have belonged. They do not possess that hardness which we are led to believe the ancients could impart to that metal, and yield pretty easily to the knife. Time may, however, have deprived them of that quality. It may not be amiss to mention, that they were found sufficiently near to have belonged to the stragglers from the fatal field of Floddon, who might disarm themselves for a more speedy flight. Grose, in the 2nd volume of his *Antiquities*, page 372, being in that part wherein he treats of ancient armour, describes four weapons of this description, and denominates them "ancient brass swords".—One was found on the borders, the place unknown; two in Duddingston lake, a little way south of Edinburgh, under water; and one near Peebles, in Scotland. They were in the possession of John Mc. Gowan, Esq. of Edinburgh. He also gives engravings of them, in plate 60, of the same work, which bear a pointed resemblance, in every respect, to the subject of the present memoir.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

MATT. CULLEY.

In consequence of a communication from the Rev. J. Hodgson, Sec. the Rev. W. Wilson, Rector of Wolsingham, permitted several articles of ancient brass, in his possession, to be exhibited before the Society; and also favoured them with the following letters, addressed to Mr. Hodgson :—

Wolsingham, 6th February, 1816.

REV. SIR,

I received the favour of your letter, requesting information respecting some Roman spear heads, &c. in my possession. They were found by a labourer, upwards of four years ago, in the parish of Stanhope, in the county of Durham, under some large rough stones casually scattered upon the declivity of a mountain, and covering nearly an acre of land. The place is at a little distance from the river Wear, on the south side, near a small farm house called Hag-gate; immediately opposite to a village on the north side, and near the river, called East-gate. The place is well marked. They had probably been hidden there by some deserter, and, in my opinion, are the arms, &c. of a single Roman foot soldier, one of the velites, consisting of five spear heads or hastæ, in sequences of different sizes, part of a sword, fragments of a pectorale, or breast plate, together with all the tools or accoutrements for repairing, sharpening, and burnishing these arms. I consider them as great curiosities; for I never heard that so complete a set was ever found before together. Single ones have been found, I believe; and antiquarians have given such opinions respecting the uses of what they called celts, as were never satisfactory to me. They seemed to be too far fetched. The principle that I assumed for the purpose of discovering the uses of the smaller articles was this. I conceived that a Roman soldier being often at a distance from camp, and seldom having the convenience of an armourer or a carpenter to repair his arms when broken or injured, would be obliged to carry about him such tools as would enable him to repair the lesser accidents

himself, and to keep the arms in bright order. I conceive also that these tools would be made as light as possible, consistent with a due degree of strength, and would be made hollow; the same tool serving for different purposes. You will judge how far these principles and suppositions are illustrated by the following description. All the articles are of fine brass, have been cast in moulds, and the tools are coated over with a curious metallic mixture, the invention probably lost. One ingredient I think is tin.

Five spears—hasta for war or chase.

No.		Inches.	oz.	drs.
1.	Spear, perfect - - -	9½	9	15
2.	Ditto, little wanting - - -	8½	7	3
3.	Ditto, perfect - - -	6½	6	2
4.	Ditto, perfect - - -	6	4	1
5.	Ditto, part wanting.			
6.	Sword, fragment - - -	3½	2	5
7.	The sharper, perfect - - -	3½	2	4

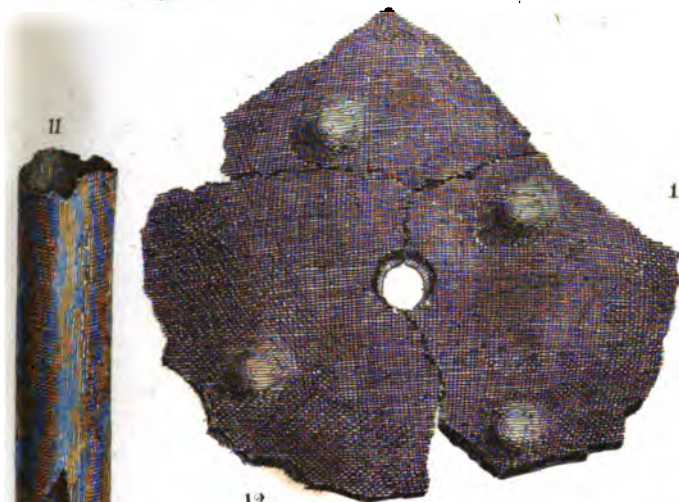
The use of this is obvious. The spears and edge tools had been sharpened by it. There are two holes nearly together on the same side, for hanging it by a thong to the body. The same side smoother than the other on that account. Some antiquarians supposed that these instruments were used by the priests, as a knife, for flaying the beasts for sacrifice. But that metals were used by the ancients for sharpening metals is clear, from Proverbs xxvii. 17—"Iron sharpeneth iron," &c.

No.		Inches.	oz.	drs.
8.	Chissel, perfect - - -	3½	8	8
9.	Ditto, part wanting.			
10.	Ditto, part wanting.			

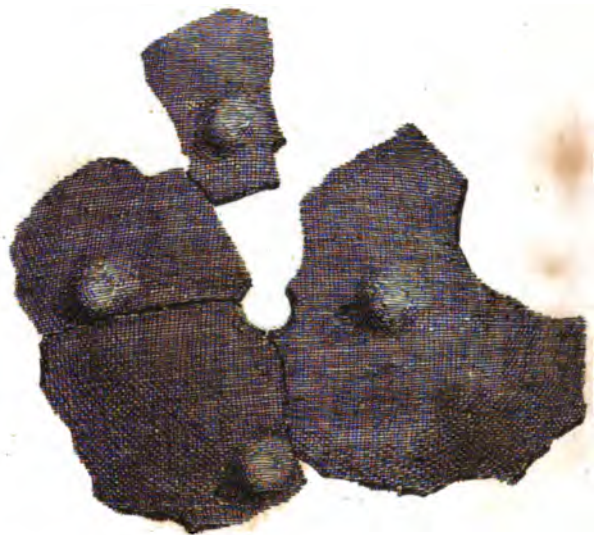
N. B. No. 8, 9, 10, chissels, for forming and polishing wood, when new shafts were wanting for spears, &c. A thong was probably put through the loop or ear, and suspended to the body. It is singular, that one side of most of them is smoother than the other, as if by such

PLATE. I





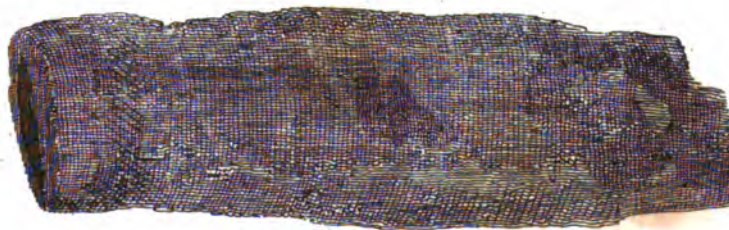
14



12



6



13



suspension. I do not think it could happen from that side being undermost when found; because the spears and tools, without loops, are not so. I am still more confirmed in my opinion of this being used as a tool, from recollecting that it does not appear among the Roman arms, either in the Trajan or Antonine pillar. This instrument and the Roman spear heads are commonly found together.

No.	Inches.	oz.	dra.
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11. Burnisher for shield, broken and some wanting	4½	1	12
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and exactly fits the space between the bosses or buttons of the shield. I conceive also, that this had been used as a bottle to hold oil for burnishing. The cavity is large, and extends the whole length. I was confirmed in that opinion by the following circumstance:—When found, the close end was smooth, and the edges sharp, without any appearance of fracture; but, on examining with a knife, I picked out some strong cement, like putty, which plugged up a concealed hole. This cement, I suppose, had been put in to make it hold a liquid. The tool had certainly been much used since it was put in, as that part was as smooth as the other parts.

No.	Inches.	oz.	dra.
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12. Burnisher for spears, perfect	2½	1	9
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The groove of which fits upon the ribs of the spears, and the convex part opposite fits the hollows between the ribs and the feathers. This opinion was confirmed by observing the coating of the groove and that of the opposite convex to be much thinner, as if by rubbing, whilst the coating of the sides of the groove were very thick, and further proved by drilling small holes in the coating.

No.	Inches.	oz.	dra.
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13. Burnisher for sockets and feathers of spears } and swords, broken and some wanting }	2	3	11
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A part of one of the sockets burnished by it, to shew the effect. It performs that office well. It might also occasionally be used as a stake (small anvil), or sometimes as a hammer.

No.

14. Pectorale, or breast plate, a few fragments, the rest lost. The edges of both the holes are round and hollow on both sides. A thong or small chain had probably been put through them, and hung round the neck, like the gorget of a British officer. It might be in two parts to cover each breast.

I am, Rev. Sir, your obedient humble servant,

To the Rev. J. Hodgson, Jarrow.

W. WILSON.

Wolsingham, 29th February, 1816.

REV. SIR,

As the carrier is going soon I have little time to answer the favour of your's, and to return you thanks for your observations and quotation from Homer, &c. *οι σφραλοι κασσιτεροις λευκοι* might be translated, studs white with tin; which confirms our idea of that metal being used by the ancients in the formation of their arms. The editor of my Livy has given this note on the passage you allude to, respecting the arms of the Roman velites—"Hastis velitaribus inest." Hastæ velitares erant jaculatoriæ, id est, quibus eminus jaculabantur, proinde leviores. The sleeve of mail armour I have sent you, was found fifty or sixty years ago, I believe in Hatherburn Cave, near Stanhope; a cave that extends, it is said, a mile in length. I believe it to be Roman. Probably the sleeve of woven brass wire is Norman, and, I think, what they called avant bras. It was found under the thatch of an old house at Wolsingham, about ten years ago.

I am, Rev. Sir, your obedient humble servant,

Rev. J. Hodgson.

W. WILSON.

An Enquiry into the Æra when Brass was used in purposes to which Iron is now applied, by the REV. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

Having stated in a conversation at the meeting, at which the brazen sword from Ewart Park was presented to the Society, my opinion that arms of that kind were not in use among the Romans for a long time prior to the occupation of Britain by that people; I now, in compliance with the wish of some of the members of this body, endeavour not only to substantiate that opinion, but, to shew from Hebrew, Greek, and Roman testimony, the æras in which brass was used in warlike instruments by these and some other nations of antiquity, and to draw some such general conclusions respecting the introduction of brazen arms into this country, as are deducible from the intercourse, generally allowed to exist, between the Britons and the people inhabiting the islands and the borders of the Mediterranean Sea, prior to the Roman invasion.

In the Mosaic, antediluvian age, Tubal Cain is said to have been the "instructor in every artificer of brass and iron". I forbear any discussion on this text, from the apprehension of carrying myself into too wide a field of difficulty, thinking it sufficient to remark, that with respect to the present appearance of the surface of our globe, the Bible and the record left upon the face of the earth strongly illustrate each other.

The order of creation is exemplified by the organic remains discovered in the successive strata of rock from the lowest to the highest: and the alluvial soils found in all the mountains of the world, below the line of perpetual frost, are a record of the catastrophe that produced them. I think I am accurate in this distinction; because by assigning the organic remains found in the stratified minerals to the agency of Noah's deluge, I could not account for the total disappearance of the bones of the antediluvians, and of their works of art. But I think, the vortiginous fury of that wave, which has thrown heaps of

gravel and rounded stones of great size upon the sides of mountains, as high as the sea can, by the ordinary laws of nature, flow without being arrested by frost, and which has covered the whole surface of the globe below that line with a stratum every way dissimilar to those below it, both with respect to form and materials; I think such a wave an agent of sufficient power to have obliterated all remains both of the people and the arts of the predecessors of Noah. At least I have heard of no remains of the human species, or of any works of art, discovered under circumstances that appear to justify their being attributed to antediluvian origin.

The Egyptians attributed the discovery of metals to their first kings*, and the earliest account, we have of the use of brass, is connected with that people. In constructing the tabernacle, Moses "made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass; of the mirrors of the women assembling, who assembled at the door of the tabernacle of meeting"†. In the same year the Israelitish women were presented with "vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment" by the Egyptians‡. From both which passages it is evident, that the use of these metals at that time, 1491 years before Christ, was well understood. And a passage in Job ||, affords a sort of explanation of the kind of brass, which was used in the mirrors of which the laver and its pedestal were made: "Hast thou with God spread out the strong airs like a molten mirror". If the comparison lie here in the strength and similarity of brightness which are found in the sky and metal mirrors, the latter may well be supposed to have been of a very pale colour: and we accordingly find in Pliny, that there was a metal in high estimation for making mirrors in his time, called Egyptian silver, which was composed of three parts brass, and the rest sulphur and silver in equal proportions. He also says, that the Brundusian mirrors, which were in high repute, were made of copper and tin §. When the latter metal is about two to one

* Phot. Bib. col. 1341.

† Exod. xxxviii. 8.

‡ Exod. xiii. 37.

|| Cap. xxxviii. 18.

§ Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 9. xxxiv. 17.

or nearly one-third of the alloy, the compound is of a very beautiful white, and takes a deep and exquisite polish. It is called *speculum-metal*, and is used in telescopes.

And as a further proof, that the Egyptians were acquainted with brass at an early period of their history, and at a time when their arts were in an infant state, we may add the testimony of Agatharcides, out of Photius. He says, that in a mountain in Upper-Egypt, not far from the Red Sea, there are ancient gold mines, "in which, even in our times, wedges of brass, *καλομίδες μιν χαλκῶς*, are found; because when these mines were wrought, men were no way acquainted with the use of iron"*. The chain or torques of gold, which Pharaoh put about the neck of Joseph, was a badge of honour, which several ancient nations seem to have adopted from the Egyptians.

The wealth of Abraham consisted in "flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men-servants and maid-servants, and camels and asses"†. Brass and iron had not then, as in the time of Joshua, been admitted into the catalogue of men's wealth‡. They, however, wrought gold into ear-rings, bracelets, and chains, for the neck, as in the instance of the jewels given to Rebecca§. And silver, at that time¶, was so commonly used as the circulating medium among merchants, that the word, in the Hebrew, translated money, through all parts of the scripture, signifies silver.

The high antiquity of the book of Job is, I think, universally confessed. Authors of credit and great learning have placed him in the time of Jacob, about 1730 years before Christ; and he alludes to the art of fusing metals, as a thing generally known in his time. "Surely there is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it. Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone."¶¶

* Phot. Bibliotheca, col. 1344.

† Gen. xiii. 2. xxv. 35.

‡ Josh. vi. 19. xxii. 8.

§ Gen. xxiv. 22. 53.

¶ Gen. xvi. 12. 13. xx. 16. xxiii. 15. 16. xlii. 25. 35. xliii. 12. 15. 21, &c.

¶¶ Cap. xxviii. 1. 2.

He also alludes to an ancient method of writing upon lead with an iron style*, and mentions a weapon of iron†; but has no allusion to tin.

BRASS was one of the metals used in the construction of the tabernacle, and of several of its utensils. The altar of burnt-offering, and all its vessels and implements were wholly of that metal‡. Moses made a serpent of brass, during the sojournment of the Israelites in the wilderness§; and after the conquest of the Midionites, we find directions given for the purification by fire, of every thing made of gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, or lead§. One of the excellencies of the Land of Promise was, that its stones were iron, and that brass might be dug out of its hills¶. This metal is also alluded to a few times in the Pentateuch, in a figurative sense** ; but concerning its use in offensive armour, during the Mosaic age, I have not been able to discover the slightest hint. No warlike weapon, nor implement of domestic use has its name from it: for though the root, שרן, *a serpent*, or *to observe*, both as a verb and a substantive, is used in a variety of senses in the writings of Moses, and other parts of the Old Testament, yet there is no instance of its being metaphorically applied to any thing of the nature of an edge-tool.

It is, however, plain, that brass had its Hebrew name either from some supposed resemblance it bore to a serpent, or from its being commonly used in fabricating idols, resembling some animal of that genus. The kind of serpent, of which Moses bore the resemblance on his standard, was called *Seraph*, that is, *burning*; and the emblem itself נחש נחשת *nehesh neheshet*, the brazen serpent: and this continued in use unto the time of Hezekiah, who called it *Nehustan*; and destroyed it, because the Israelites in those days burned incense to

* Cap. xix. 24

† Exod. xxxviii. 2. &c.

§ Numb. xxxi. 22.

** Levit. xxvi. 19. Deut. xxviii. 23. and xxxiii. 25.

† Cap. xx. 24.

|| Numb. xxi. 8. 9.

¶ Deut. viii. 9.

it*. The rod of Moses, so frequently mentioned in the book of Exodus, was a staff of brass, in the form of a serpent†.

Sampson had his eyes put out by the Philistines, and was condemned to grind corn in a prison in Gaza, bound in fetters of brass‡. In this passage, the word in Hebrew, which is translated, fetters of brass||, and in some other places fetters § and chains ¶, is the term for brass in that language, changed into the masculine plural, and might be rendered brasses, with as much propriety as we call chains and fetters, irons, from their being constructed of iron. Brass is also in one place put for a chain.

The most remarkable passage in the Bible, connected with the subject under inquiry, is that which contains the description of the armour of Goliath, the giant of Gath. "His height was six cubits and a span. And he had a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. And the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam; and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron: and one bearing a shield went before him."***

The combat between David and Goliath is generally dated 1063 years before Christ, in the time of Codrus, king of Athens, and of the first Peloponnesian war: and the account of it affords the first positive historical notice on record, of brass and iron being forged into armour.

I have quoted the description of the giant's armour from the authorised version; but the sense of it may perhaps be better collected from a translation strictly literal.

His height was six cubits and a span. And a brazen helmet was upon his head, and he was clothed with chains like scales; and the

* ii. Kings, xviii. 4.

† Exod. iv. 3.

‡ Judges, xvi. 21.

|| בְּנֹזָשֵׁר, in brass; בְּנֹזָשֵׁי, in brasses; which the Septuagint translates *αλυσσας*. See also ii. Kings, xvii. 7.

§ ii. Chron. xxxvi. 6. Jer. xxxix. 7.

¶ Lament. iii. 7.

** i. Sam. xvii. 4—7.

weight of the chains was five thousand shekels of brass ; and greaves of brass were upon his legs ; and a lance of brass between his shoulders ; and the staff of his spear like a weaver's beam ; and the flame (or blade) of his spear six hundred shekels of iron ; and one bearing a shield went before him.

The English translators following the authority of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and several eminent critics have rendered the noon נֶדֶן, a target ; but I think it will not be difficult to shew, that it ought to have been translated javelin. In Junius and Tremelius it is *humerales*.

This word occurs in five* other places in the Bible, in none of which it can, consistently with good sense, be rendered target, or made to mean any kind of defensive armour ; and in three of which it is spear, in the English version ; and in two of them in the Septuagint, *γασσος*, a heavy dart ; and in the third, *ζευς*, a boar spear. Junius and Tremelius have rendered it, in the four first of these places, *lancea* ; and in the fifth, *hasta*. The passage in Joshua determines its meaning at once, " Stretch forth the *spear* that is in thine hand towards Ai :— And Joshua stretched forth the *spear* that was in his hand towards Ai." And Diodati, on the passage in question, says, " Some understand the Hebrew word, *keedoon*, for a kind of pike, carried crossways upon the shoulders." And, besides the argument in favour of translating *keedoon*, a javelin, drawn from the meaning it bears in other parts of the Bible—whoever went to battle with a shield before him, and a target upon his back ? That it was some kind of offensive armour is evident from the words of David : " Thou comest to me with a sword and with a spear and with a *keedoon*, or dart" :—none of the defensive suit are here enumerated—neither the helmet, which covered his head ; nor the coat of chain armour, that clothed his body and his thighs ; nor the greaves of brass, which encased his legs and feet.

There are also proofs in Homer of the great antiquity of going out to battle armed with two spears :—

* Joshua viii. 18, 19. Job. xxxix. 23. lxi. 29. Jer. vi. 23.

Now Alexander from the Trojan ranks
 Advancing comes, god-like in form; a leopard's skin,
 His sword, and bow upon his shoulder slung;
 Two spears he vibrates, bright with brazen points,
 And dares the bravest Grecians to the fight *.

In the splendid description of Agamemnon arraying himself for battle, we are told that last of all,

Two mighty spears he seized, their heads of bronze
 Keen-edged and strong, that dazzling brightness cast
 O'er heaven †.

Two spears are enumerated among the arms of Nestor ‡. Hector also went out against the Grecians with two spears §; having, according to some ||, one of them in his right hand, and the other under his shield, in his left. Asteropæus was ambidexter, and threw both his spears at once at Achilles ¶. And Pallas, speaking to Telemachus about his father, pictures him thus ** :—

“Could he now appear
 There, at yon portal, armed with helmet, shield,
 And grasping his two spears, such as when first
 I saw him,” &c. ††

Ishbi-benob, another giant of the Philistines, carried a spear, “the weight of which was three hundred shekels of brass in weight”. Mr. Parkhurst thinks that the word, יָרֵךְ, translated spear in this place, means a helmet: but originally it means any reed, cane, or hollow

* Il. iii. 8.

† Il. xi. 43.

‡ Il. x. 76.

§ Il. xii. 294.

|| Schol. per Villoison. See also Montfaucon, vol. iv. plate 4, fig. 1.

¶ Il. xxi. 162.

** Odys. i. 256, and these spears are mentioned in other parts of the Odyssey.

†† Cowper's Translation, 2d Edit.

stalk. Canes in ancient, as well as modern times, have been much used as shafts of spears and darts; and the Septuagint in this place has *δρυ* *. About this period we also find mention of “bows of brass”, *קשת-נחושה*, which, in our translation, is rendered “a bow of steel” †.

The account of the large quantity of brass, used in many of the utensils and ornaments of the Temple of Solomon, affords decisive evidence of the high estimation in which that metal was held in the zenith of the Jewish Monarchy. Many of the vessels were of very extraordinary dimensions. For instance, the brazen altar was thirty feet in length and breadth, and fifteen feet high; the brazen sea forty-five feet in circumference, and supported by twelve oxen of brass; and there were two pillars, each twenty-seven feet high, and six feet in diameter, and having capitals of seven and a half feet in height. To mark the greatness of the quantity used, it is said that the “brass was in abundance, without weight” ‡.

IRON is not mentioned in the history of the Patriarchs, nor among the metals used in the construction of the tabernacle; but it occurs in the list of the six metals already quoted from the book of Numbers: and in the same book, “an instrument of iron,” such as might be used for committing murder, is mentioned. In the passage which relates to one man accidentally killing another, by the head of his axe flying off, the word, translated the head, means the iron, in the original §; and the same inaccuracy occurs in the second book of Kings: “as one man was felling a beam, the axe head”—*berzil*, the iron—“fell into the water” ||. Og’s bedstead was “of iron” ¶. Egypt, on account of its oppressive treatment of the Israelites, is compared to a

* ii. Sam. xxi. 10.

† ii. Sam. xxii. 25. Job. xx. 24. Ps. xviii. 34.

‡ i. Kings vii. and ii. Chron. iv.

§ Numb. xxx. v. 16.

|| Deut. xix. 5. cap. vi. 5.

¶ Deut. iii. 11. The Lacedemonians made beds, which they consecrated to Juno, of the iron and brass utensils which they found in the city of Plataeæ. Thucyd. lib. iii.

furnace of iron *. Mines of iron are mentioned †; and altars on which no tool of iron had been laid ‡: and slavery is represented “by a yoke of iron upon the neck” §. All which expressions and allusions sufficiently shew that the Hebrews, in the time of Moses, were well acquainted not only with the method of smelting iron, but that it was then manufactured into masons’ and carpenters’ tools, and into different kinds of household furniture.

Immediately after the Mosaic age, we find frequent mention of chariots of iron used in war by the people of Canaan §. Goliath’s spear head weighed six hundred shekels of iron ¶. Saws, thrashing instruments, and axes of iron, are mentioned in the second book of Samuel **. One hundred thousand talents of iron †† were prepared by “David, for the nails for the doors of the gate, and for the joinings” of the temple; but the stone of that edifice was “made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building” †‡. Jeremiah speaks of an iron style §§. In the book of Psalms, rods, fetters, and bars of iron are mentioned; and Isaiah tells of “cutting down thickets of the forest with iron”.

In the time of Ezekiel, Tarshish traded to Tyre in silver, iron, tin, and lead; Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, brought vessels of brass into its market; and Dan and Javan supplied it with bright iron §§.

In tracing the connexion between ancient implements of brass discovered in Britain, and the mercantile people along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, it will be necessary to direct our attention to the information which the ancients have left us concerning their know-

* Deut. iv. 20.

‡ Deut. xxvii. 5. and Joshua viii. 31.

§ Joshua xvii. 16, 18. Judges i. 19. iv. 3, 13.

¶ 1 Sam. xvii. 7.

†† 1 Chron. xxix. 7.

§§ Cap. xvii. 1.

† Deut. viii. 9.

§ Deut. xxviii. 48.

iv. 3, 13.

** Cap. xii. 13.

†‡ 1 Kings, vi. 7.

§§ Ezek. xxvii. 12—18.

ledge of TIN, which is by far the most common of all the alloys which they used with copper in making brass. In the Bible it is seldom mentioned. Moses enumerates it in the list of the six metals*, and Ezekiel says it was brought from Tarshish to Tyre†. This Tarshish, I shall endeavour afterwards to shew, from ancient testimony, was situated at the mouth of the river Boëtis, in Spain. In the mean time it may be curious to know that tin has its Hebrew name בִּדְדֵל, *bedeel*, from the verb בָּדַל, which means, to divide or separate, probably in allusion to tin being used by the ancients in refining gold, in which process, Agatharcides tells us it was used by the Egyptians. After the ore, he says, was properly cleansed from impurities by pounding, grinding, and washing, it was weighed, measured, and mixed in earthen pots, καὶ αὐτὸν, with a piece of lead, grains of salt, a little tin, καὶ οὐλίαν ἄμυρον,‡ and barley meal. It was then poured into close crucibles, luted around, and put into a furnace for five successive days and nights; on the sixth day, after cooling, the gold was found quite pure, and with little loss §.

I shall conclude this part of my enquiry with a few general remarks, connected with brass and iron, and the different kinds of armour mentioned in the religious books of the Hebrews.

When we consider how universally iron is diffused over the surface of the globe, we cannot but conclude that men were very indifferently acquainted with the methods of smelting and forging it, when they made the gates and bolts of their cities of brass, to which practice there are numerous allusions both in sacred and prophane authors§.

We have seen that some of the nations, with whom the Israelites

* Num. xxxi. 22.

† Cap. xxvii. 12.

‡ On this sentence the President de Goguet observes, "There are tin mines in Africa," and gives the following authorities for the assertion:—Voyage de V. le Blanc, part 2, p. 80. Hist. gen. des voyag. t. 1, p. 25.

§ Agath. in Phot. Bibliotheca, col. 1341.

§ See 1 Kings, iv. 13. Ps. cvii. 13. Is. xlv. 2. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix. 10.

had war, used chariots of iron; and spear heads both of brass and iron: But there is no positive evidence that the Hebrews themselves forged either brass or iron into any sort of offensive armour, excepting bows; for, the iron tool mentioned by Moses, by which a man might be murdered, was, I think, some sort of implement used in the arts; and the mention of an iron weapon, in the book of Job, is dubious proof in this case, inasmuch as the relation between that Patriarch and the Hebrews, as well as the æra in which he lived, and who his biographer was, are uncertain. But that they used brass in defensive armour is evident, from the helmet of Saul being made of that metal *, and Rehoboam replacing the golden shields, which Solomon made, with shields of brass †.

The want, however, of positive evidence respecting the materials of which their spears and swords were made, is sufficiently supplied by the proofs of their being well acquainted with the use both of brass and iron in the arts, after the time of their coming out of Egypt, and of their neighbours' arming themselves with weapons of both these metals: for we cannot suppose, considering the long and bloody wars in which they were engaged, that they would arm themselves merely with slings and weapons of wood or stone, when they used brass and iron in the arts of peace, and went into the field against enemies, who were cased in mail and cuirass, and had swords and spears of bronze and steel.

The following parallel passages not only prove, that both the Hebrews and the Greeks used to fix their spears in the earth, while they were sleeping round their general; but afford a sort of indirect evidence, that the spears of the Hebrews, in the time of Saul, were made of some sort of polished metal, which could be seen, by its glancing, to a considerable distance:—"Saul lay sleeping within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster: but Abner and the people lay round about him" ‡.

* 1 Sam. xvii. 5 and 38.

† 1 Kings, xiv. 27.

‡ 1 Sam. xxvi. 27.

To Diomed, Tydeus son, they went,
 Hlm, circled by his sleeping friends, they found
 Before his tent in arms : their heads reposed
 Upon their shields. Their spears, in earth infixed,
 Erectly by their handle end, from heads
 Of brass, shone far as Jove's own lightning gleams.
 The hero also slept himself, out stretched
 Upon a wild bull's hide, with tapestry broad
 Of splendid workmanship beneath his head.*

Ehud made himself a sword which had two edges, and was of a cubit (18 inches) in length. Its blade, in Hebrew, is called *leeb*, a word which is applied to the spear-head of Goliath, and occurs in the same sense in Nahum : in its primitive application it signifies flame or brightness :—"the shaft went in after the blade, *leeb*, and the fat closed upon the blade" †. It is also probable, that the sword of Goliath was something similar in size to that of Ehud, as David, a man of ordinary stature, used it in decolating Goliath ; and, afterwards, when he was presented with it by Ahimelech ‡, he pronounced it a matchless one. If it had been large in proportion to the weight of the giant's other armour, it would have been useless to David.

Swords are frequently mentioned in the writings of Moses, under the same name that they bear in the other parts of the Bible, which name is from a term, *חֶרֶב*, *choreb*, which signifies, to consume or desolate : and, it is remarkable, that in the passage, where Moses is commanded not to build an altar of hewn stone—"for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it", the word translated tool, is *choreb* in the original, which might, with great propriety, have been rendered, thy sword. In Joshua, the sentence translated—"make thee sharp knives," is in the original, make thee *chorebuth jerim*, swords of stones. From this latter expression it would appear, that the Israelites, notwithstanding their knowledge of metals in the time

* Hom. Il. x. 153.

† Judges, iii. 16—22.

‡ 1 Sam. xxi. 9.

of Moses, were not far removed from an age when their predecessors used weapons made of stone.

Under the Mosaic age, and in the time of the kings of Israel, mention occurs of axes with iron heads, used for hewing wood*. In both the passages alluded to, the word translated head, as I have before noticed, means iron in the original; and, in the first, the sentence, "the head slipped from the helve", should have been—the iron slipped from the wood. Axes of this kind are also mentioned in other places†; and from 1 Kings, vi. 7, appear to have been used in hewing stone as well as wood.

The Philistines triumphed so completely over the Hebrews, in the time of Saul, as to carry away all the smiths out of the country, which was done, "lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears". They had even to go to their enemies to get their agricultural implements repaired. A similar catastrophe seems to have befallen them in the time of Deborah‡.

The persons who were employed in the construction of the tabernacle were, a member of the tribe of Judah, who had the direction of the metallurgical department of the work, and one of the tribe of Dan, who excelled in the arts of engraving and weaving. When the temple was built, Hiram, king of Tyre, sent a man, whose mother was a Danite, and his father a Tyrian, and described him to Solomon as one "skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber; in purple, in blue, and in fine linen and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device, which shall be put to him with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David thy father."

The languages of the Phœnicians and the Hebrews are acknowledged to have been nearly alike: and the similarity between the names of the Hebrew and Greek letters, is a strong proof of the advantage which

* Deut. xix. 5. 2 Kings, vi. 7.

† 1 Kings, vi. 7. 2 Kings, vi. 5. Isa. x. 5.

‡ Judges, v. 8. 1 Sam. xiii. 19, &c.

the Greeks derived from their intercourse with the people of that part of Asia.

It is not necessary here to bring any arguments to show that great numbers of the inhabitants of Canaan, after the conquest of their country by the Israelites under ~~Moses~~ ^{Solomon}, settled in various parts of Greece; and that the Phœnicians, from time to time, established various colonies on the islands and shores of the Mediterranean Sea. It is sufficient for the purposes of this essay to shew, that the Phœnicians commonly traded into Greece in Homer's time; and that part of their traffic was in metals in a manufactured state. He calls them men skilled in nautical affairs, and sharpers, bringing cargoes of toys; among which were necklaces of gold, set with amber*. Sidon is called "rich in brass", and one of the prizes at the funeral games of Patroclus, was a large silver bowl, made by an ingenious Sidonian, and carried to Lemnos by a Phœnician merchant†. Their females are described as skilled in elegant work, such as making beautiful apparel‡.

From this manner of describing the Phœnicians, it is, I think, fair to infer, that they were civilized before the Greeks—that in Homer's time the Phœnicians dealt in the arts and luxuries of life, while the Greeks were employed in petty wars and pastoral pursuits. And from a survey of the uses to which brass and iron appear to have been applied in Greece, in the days of Homer, and in Palestine, in the time of Moses and Solomon, the inference in favour of the early superiority of the knowledge of the Hebrews and Phœnicians, over that of the Greeks, will be greatly strengthened.

That the art of manufacturing brass preceded that of iron, appears pretty evidently from some of the terms which belong to the metallurgical art. Homer calls the smith who made iron axes, *αὐτὸς χαλκεύς*, literally a *brasier*; a smithy, *χαλκείον* ||; the act of working metals in general, *χαλκευεῖν* §. The fire, too, in which metals were heated, was

* *Odys.* iv. 288. xv. 314. 424. 459.

† *Il.* xxiii. 744.

‡ *Odys.* xv. 316. *Il.* vi. 290.

|| *Odys.* ix. 391.

§ *Odys.* viii. 273.

called *χούρα*, a word which, in its literal sense, means a furnace, or a crucible, in which metals are *melted* *. It is, however, evidently implied, in the account of Vulcan making ready to fabricate the shield of Achilles, that the metals he used were first heated and then hammered.

He said, and parting, to his bellows went :
 These to the fire he placed, and said, " be worked",
 On furnaces, full twenty bellows blew,
 Blasts breathing out of all degrees of strength ;
 Dispatch now suiting, now its counter part,
 As Vulcan willed, and as his work required.
 Brass indestructible, and tin he put,
 And precious gold, and silver in the fire.
 Then on its stock the anvil huge he placed :
 One hand the hammer took, the fire-tongs one.

Though tongs are used for lifting crucibles out of furnaces, it is, however, evident from this passage, that the furnaces mentioned here were only the ordinary fires of a smith, otherwise for what purpose were the hammer and the anvil? In the third *Odyssey*, the same kind of tools are mentioned as used in the art of beating out gold, for gilding the horns of a bull, destined for sacrifice.

Then the brazier came,
 His brazen armour bearing in his hand—
 Anvil and hammer, fire-tongs neatly formed,
 Tools of his art, with which the gold he worked.

From this description it is, I think, quite conclusive, that the Greeks, about this time, were very ill acquainted with the art of manufacturing iron ; because it cannot be supposed that their hammers, anvils, and smith's tongs would have been made of so soft a metal as brass, if they could have easily procured iron for the same purposes.

* Il. xviii. 470.

But that the proof that brazen implements preceded those of iron, both in mechanics and war, amongst the Greeks, does not rest on inferences and conclusions that may be doubted; it will be easy to shew, by inquiring into the several uses to which brass, iron, and tin, appear to have been applied in the time of Homer.

There are numerous references to hewing down trees, and carving wood with brass, in which no mention is made of the kinds of instruments used for that purpose*. Other passages supply us with their names.

When Calypso dismissed Ulysses, "she gave him a large brazen axe, *παικνυ*, fitted to the hands, sharp on both sides, and having a very beautiful helve of olive wood, skilfully carved". Then also she gave him a "well-polished adze", *σκεπαρον υξοον*. Having felled twenty trees, "he shaped them out with the brass, *παικνυσεν δ' αρα χαλκω*, polished them skilfully, and adjusted them with a measure"†. At a former time she advised him "to hew beams of timber, and form with brass a broad bark" ‡.

On the word *σκεπαρον*, the scholiast says: "wool, from its covering a lamb, but in this place some read a spear, or rather an axe sharp on both sides". That it was some sort of carpenter's tool is clear, from the above passage; and from the comparison between the hissing produced by burning out the eye of Polyphemus, and the noise arising from plunging hot iron into cold water||, it appears that this instrument and the *παικνυ* were indifferently made of iron or of brass. The great value put upon them may be inferred from the skill employed in beautifying the handle of the one, and in polishing the head of the other.

Concerning the *παικνυ* there is a variety of other incidental information in the Iliad and the Odyssey. The following simile occurs twice§:

* Il. i. 236. xiii. 180. Odys. v. 152. xxiii. 196.

† Odys. v. 237.

‡ Odys. v. 162.

|| Odys. ix. 391, &c.

§ Il. xiii. 391. xvi. 484. See also Il. iii. 61, respecting its use by ship-carpenters.

"He fell like an oak, or poplar, or lofty pine, which a carpenter fells for ship-timber, in the mountains, with new-whetted axes, *πάλαιον νεηκεσι*." It is also stiled *υλοτομος* *, wood-felling, in the account of the preparation for the funeral rites of Patroclus; where it is also said, that the wood for the fire was cut down with brass †. It was likewise used in close fighting ‡, and for killing oxen §. There are a few scattered hints respecting its shape. Ten axes and ten half-axes comprised one of the prizes, at the games given by Achilles, at the funeral of Patroclus.

— *εἶθε δῖκα μὲν παλκίας, δῖκα δ' ἡμιπαλκία*

By which I understand that the axe had two mouths, or, as it is expressed respecting the one given by Calypso to Ulysses, was *αμφοτεροὺς ἀναχμινον*, sharp on both sides; and that the half-axes had only one mouth.

The carved handle of the *παλκίς* has been already noticed. The method of fixing it may be collected from the several references in the Odyssey, to the game of shooting an arrow through the helve-hole of twelve axes placed in a right line, and at stated distances from each other. These holes are expressly mentioned in the twenty-first Odyssey, line 486th; and the axes, which Ulysses kept in his treasury for that purpose, were made of iron.

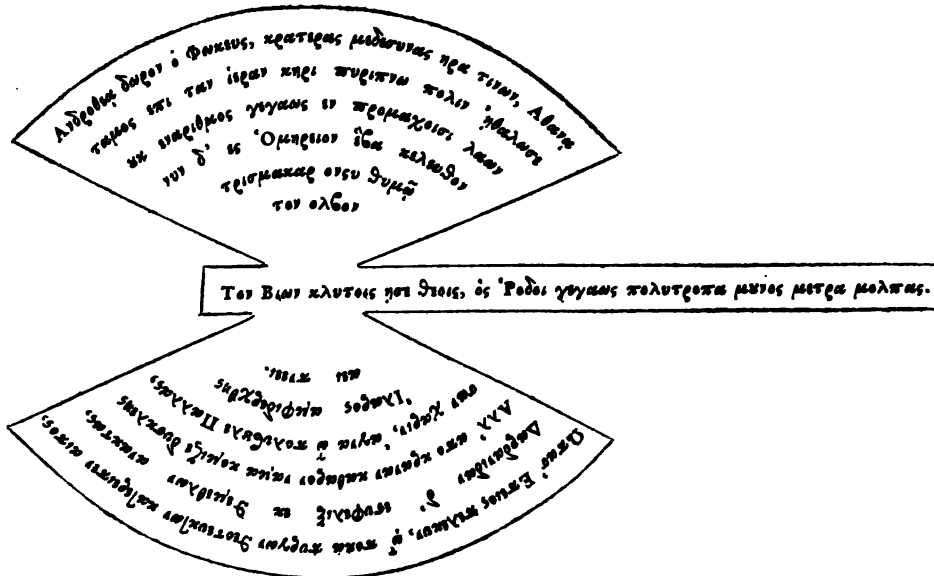
The following Epigram, attributed both to Simmia of Rhodes, and to Bion, is called *παλκίς*, and composed in lines, so arranged, as to represent the form of an axe and its handle.

* Il. xxiii. 114.

† Il. xv. 711.

‡ Il. xxiii. 118.

§ Odyss. iii. 449.



Among the several arts that were attributed to Minerva, and under her protection, that of the carpenter was one :—

And as a line divides a vessel's plank
In some good workman's hand, who knows right well
The whole of wisdom by Minerva's rules,
So straight the line of fight and battle seem'd. *

And, on this account, the poet lays all the turn and point of his verses in their form and in the praise of Epeus, who, under the guidance of Minerva, constructed the wooden horse, which gained him such applause, that he rose, according to Plautus and Marcus Varro, from the capacity of a cook, to the dignity of a nobleman of Greece.

The *axinn*, or battle-axe of Menelaus, was of "excellent brass, with

an olive-wood handle, long and well polished"* : and the same weapon is mentioned next to the *παικὺς*, in the description of the attack which the Trojans, under Hector, made upon the fleet of the Greeks.

Jav'lins now no more
Might serve them, or the arrow-starting bow,
But close conflicting, and of one mind all,
With bill and battle-axe †, with pond'rous swords,
And with long lances, double-edged, they fought ;
Many a black-hilted falchion, huge of haft,
Fell to the ground, some from the grasp, and some
From shoulders of embattled warriors hewn. ‡

The blade of the Homeric sword, *ξίφος* ||, was made of brass, and is called sharp §, and sharp on both sides ¶ ; under which latter term it is frequently joined with the spear called *εγχος* **. This sword was suspended over the shoulder †† in a belt ‡‡, and hung by the thigh ||| in a sheath §§. which was sometimes made of ivory ¶¶, and at other times of a black substance *. The epithets applied to it are silver-studded †‡, large ‡‡, brazen ||-hilted §‡, and long-bladed ¶‡. The hilt of it was sometimes made of silver *, near which the blade was apt to break †‡. The sword of Menelaus was shivered into several pieces, on the helmet of Paris †‡.

* Il. xiii. 612.

† Cowper's Trans. p. 471, first Ed.

§ Il. iv. 530.

** Il. xiii. 147. xiv. 26. xv. 278.

†† Il. v. 45. Odys. x. 261, &c.

||| Odys. ix. 300.

¶¶ Odys. viii. 404.

†‡ Il. ii. 45. iii. 334, &c.

|| Odys. x. 261.

¶‡ Odys. xxii. 443.

†‡ Il. xvi. 339.

† *Οξυς δὲ παλαίστει, καὶ ἀξίνοισι μάχοντο.* Il. xv. 711.

|| Il. iii. 335. xvi. 136. Odys. x. 262, &c.

¶ Il. xxi. 118. Odys. xvi. 80. xxi. 336.

xvi. 637. Odys. xx. 526, &c.

‡‡ Il. vii. 305.

§§ Il. i. 194, &c.

* Il. xv. 715.

†‡ Il. i. 220.

§‡ Il. xvi. 332.

* Odys. viii. 403.

†‡ Il. iii. 363.

Swords are also described under two other names, *αορ* and *φασγανον*, both of which appear to have been synonymous to *ξίφος*.

For the *αορ*, hung by the thigh*, was brazen†, or all of brass‡, long-bladed||, sharp§, and great; and with such a one Hector cut asunder the shaft of the spear of Ajax Telamon ¶.

The *αορ* which Euryalus gave to Ulysses was all of brass, its hilt of silver, and its sheath of new-carved ivory**. The very same weapon is afterwards, under the name *ξίφος*, called silver-studded, and described as worn (in a belt thrown) over the shoulder ††.

The *φασγανον* was also made of brass, and was sharp on both sides ‡‡. Among other epithets, it is styled silver-studded, beautiful, Thracian-made |||, and black-sheathed and hilted §§. In the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the same weapon is in one place called *φασγανον αἶν* ¶¶, and in another *αργυροηλον* **; and Peneleus and Lycon, after their spears had both missed their aim, closed with their swords, *ξίφισσι* †‡. Lycon struck the horse hair cone of the helmet of Peneleus, and his sword *φασγανον*, broke at the hilt ‡‡: in these two instances, the terms are evidently synonymous and mutable; but they seem to be applied to distinct kinds of weapons in the fifteenth Iliad, where the *πικαντες*, *αἶση*, *ξίφος*, *ογχος*, and *φασγανον*, are classed together, as weapons used in close fighting ||¹.

The *μαχαίρα* seems to have been some sort of a brazen knife, which was worn in a sheath by the side of the sword. "Atreides, drawing with his hands the knife, *μαχαίραι*, that always by the sheath of his huge falcheon hung, cut the hair from the forehead of the lamb." §¹ It occurs in the same sense in the nineteenth Iliad ¶¹. The instrument with

* Il. xvi. 493. xxi. 173. Odys. x. 439.

† Odys. viii. 403.

‡ Il. xxi. 173.

** Odys. viii. 403.

†† Odys. xxii. 79—90.

§§ Il. xv. 713.

** L. 96.

†‡ Id. 339. See also Il. xx. 469, &c.

§¹ Il. iii. 271—292, and xix. 252.

† Odys. xix. 241.

|| Il. xiv. 385. xvi. 473.

¶ Il. xvi. 115.

†† Id. l. 406—416.

||| Il. xxiii. 807.

¶¶ L. 94.

†‡ Il. xvi. 335.

||¹ L. 710, &c.

¶¹ L. 252.

which the broken arrow was extracted from the thigh of Eurypylus, has the same name *: and the youths described in the picture of the Cretan dance, upon the shield of Achilles, had golden knives hanging in silver belts †. It was an instrument of this kind which Egeus hid under a large stone, and by which he afterwards discovered Theseus, while in the act of carving with it, to be his son ‡.

The *εγχος* had an ashen shaft, and was headed with brass ||, which is sometimes called sharp §, and sometimes two edged ¶. Its lower point, by which it was fixed in the earth at the bivouac of a general, was called *σαυρωτηρ* **, and *εριαχος* ††. It is also often styled long, and that of Hector was eleven cubits in length, and its brazen head ‡‡ was encircled with a ring of gold. The same sort of spear is also called *δρυ* |||, a name which seems to be nearly equivalent to our word shaft, or pole §§, and under which the spear is frequently called brazen ¶¶, and has many of the same epithets applied to it which are applied to *εγχος*. *Μαλια* *³, so called on account of the shafts of spears being made of ash, and *ξυρος* †³, are also synonyma with *εγχος*, and had brazen heads ‡³.

Helmets, scale-armour, and cuirasses of brass, occur in almost every page of the Iliad. Brass constituted a part of the shields of Achilles, Hector, Ajax, and several of the other heroes. Nor does Homer forget to embellish his poem with descriptions of the brilliance of brazen armour; the flashes that proceeded from them as the troops changed their positions; and especially their dazzling splendour after being newly cleaned.

* Il. xi. 843.

† Plut. vol. 1, p. 11.

§ Il. x. 135.

** Il. x. 153.

†† Il. vi. 320. viii. 495.

‡‡ In Il. xv. 410, &c. ship timber is called *δρυ* *μηλορ*. Il. xv. 410, &c. the wooden horse of Epeus was called *κελευς δρυς*, from its being hollow and made of wood.

¶¶ Il. xiii. 247.

†³ Il. x. 260 and 265.

‡³ See for the first word Il. xxii. 225, 323, &c.; for the second, Il. iv. 469. xi. 260.

† Il. xviii. 597.

|| Il. v. 655. xxii. 323, &c.

¶ Il. xiv. 26, &c. Odyss. xvi. 474, &c.

†† Il. xiii. 444, &c.

||| See Il. v. lines 660—664.

*³ xx. 272 and 277. xxii. 326 and 323.

The spears long, ruthless, sharp, with horror filled
 The battle. Brazen splendour in their eyes,
 From glit'ring casques, and cuirass burnished fresh,
 And shining shields, with dazzling splendour shone,
 As the host thickened.

Arrows, with brazen heads, are frequently mentioned in connexion with shooting them out of bows. Under the name *οἰσός*, we have the epithets brass-headed*, three pointed †, long pointed ‡; under *ισός*, the arrow is called heavy-with-brass ||, and three-pointed §; and the practice of poisoning the brazen heads of arrows is alluded to ¶.

Chariots were ornamented with brass**; the fellies and spokes of Juno's ††, and the axle of Neptune's were of brass ‡‡. Brass was also used by the Greeks in their leg armour, as they are called in the 7th Iliad (line 41), brazen-greaved, *καλλικνημίδες*. Whether they shod their horses with any kind of metal is very doubtful; though the horses both of Jove ||| and Neptune §§ are called brazen-footed, which indeed may be only intended to mean strong hoofed, without reference to any practice of shoeing horses with brass in Homer's days.

The trade in brass amongst the Greeks, in Homer's time, was so common, that he alludes to it as a matter of common occurrence ¶¶. And when enumerating the articles of which the cargoes of ships consisted, brass, gold, well-wrought iron, and raiment, form the general catalogue of valuable commodities*³. This metal is also very commonly found in the accounts of the wealth of his heroes, with gold, raiment, wrought-iron, and beautiful women †³. He also says, that it

* Il. xiii. 650. 662.

† Il. viii. 297.

‡ Il. xi. 507.

** Il. iv. 226. x. 322, &c.

†† Il. xiii. 30.

§§ xii. 23.

*³ Odys. xv. 324. xvi. 231.

†³ Il. ii. 226. vi. 47. ix. 265. x. 379. xi. 193. Odys. ii. 338, &c.

† Il. v. 393.

|| Il. xv. 465.

¶ Odys. i. 261.

†† Il. v. 725.

||| Il. viii. 41.

¶¶ Odys. v. 38. xiii. 136.

was carried to Greece from Temesa, a city of Cyprus*; near which place, according to Strabo †, there were numerous mines of brass; and, in Pliny's time ‡, the Romans obtained much of their best copper out of that island, from which I apprehend the terms *cyprum*, *cyprius*, and *copper*, are derived.

Plutarch tells us why Homer calls brass *συνροα* and *ρυροα*. The hunters, says he, when they have taken a boar or stag, and have to send it from a great distance to a town, thrust into it a spike of brass, as a remedy against putrefaction, which effect it would appear to have from its styptic properties; hence physicians use the rust of brass in cases of that nature. Persons too, affected with inflamed eyes, when employed in brass mines, grow better of their complaint; and such as have lost their eye-lashes, have the hair restored. For the fine dust, which arises from the ore of brass, falling imperceptibly upon the eye-lashes, so dries and braces them up, that they no longer emit rheum or tears. Hence Homer calls brass, *συνροα*. Aristotle, also relates, that wounds made by spears and knives of brass, are less painful, and heal sooner, than those made by iron weapons; because brass has in it a certain medicinal quality, which it communicates directly to the wounds ||.

One of the prizes at the funeral games of Patroclus was,

A mass, self-fused,
Which erst Eëtion's mighty strength could hurl.

* * * * *

How distant far, the winner's fertile lands,

* Some critics have contended that this Temesa is the same as that mentioned by Livy, xxxiv. 45, which was a town of the Bruttii. See Eustath. and the Venet. Schol.

† Li. vi. and xiv.

‡ Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 2, &c.

|| Symph. iii. 10. Edit. Hen. Steph. an. 1572. vol. ii. p. 1169 and 1171. See also Macrobian. Saturnal. vii. 16. where this passage out of Plutarch is quoted. The passage alluded to in Aristotle, may be found in his Problems, sec. i. 35. vol. ii. p. 829. Ed. 1596.

It him shall serve in using full five years ;
 For herd or plowman wanting iron none
 Of his shall seek the town, but deal it out.

This self-fused mass was probably one of those balls of native iron, which are formed in the higher regions of the air, by the aggregation of gaseous atoms of iron and of some other metals, and hence have been called aerolites, and meteoric stones, the use of which, I conjecture, first suggested to mankind the idea of attempting to make ores of iron malleable by roasting. Be that, however, as it may, it is here intimated that shepherds and husbandmen, in the time of Homer, used iron, but in so sparing a manner, that a lump which one man could hurl further than all his competitors,

Far as a herdsman throws his tapering staff,
 That whirling flies the herding beeves between,

was more than sufficient to serve all the purposes of a considerable estate for five years*.

The next prize proposed was, ten double mouthed and ten single-mouthed axes, made of iron fit for arrows, which, I apprehend, was such as had been properly prepared for the purpose of being formed into edge-tools. †

In the description of Ulysses putting out the eye of Polyphemus with a burning stake of olive wood, the poet, as if it were by incident, throws into a simile a philosophical observation on the art of tempering iron :

As when a smith a hatchet or huge axe
 Loud hissing, plunges into water cold,
 In tempering (*thus the strength of iron comes*),
 So hissed his eye around the olive stake ‡.

From this passage it is quite clear that the early Greeks were well

* Il. xxvii. 125, &c.

† Id. 850.

‡ Ody. ix. 392, &c.

acquainted with the cause, which gives to iron its temper; but the term *φαρμασσω*, *healing*, which stands for the process, leads one to infer, that they imagined iron had some sort of an imperfection of the nature of a disease, before it was plunged into cold water. I have before noticed, that this comparison affords a sort of proof that the *παικς* was indifferently made of brass, or iron; and I would here add my conviction, from the iron axes of Ulysses being laid up in his treasury with so much care, and the great regard with which the poet uniformly mentions this metal, that it was esteemed in his time as much more valuable than brass.

That it was not in general use in the Homeric age, there is abundant testimony. Excepting in the club of Areïthous,* and two notices, which induce the belief that it was used in arrow heads, † it does not appear to have been forged into any sort of warlike weapon. Juno's chariot wheels are, indeed, said to have been of iron, and where Ulysses instructs Telemachus how to apologize to his mother's suitors for removing the arms out of the hall, the concluding reason is:—because the sight of steel provokes men to use it: *αἷλος γὰρ ἐφίλειται ἀνδρᾶ σιδηρὸς* ‡. Here *σιδηρὸς* has precisely the same import that *ferrum* frequently has in Latin authors, and means a sword or offensive weapons in general.

The passages in Homer, which afford proof that iron in his time was scarce, and reckoned among valuable commodities, are numerous. Adrastus, imploring life at the hand of Menelaus, told him that his father's house was well stored with brass and gold, and highly-wrought iron §. It is also, under the same epithet, classed among the riches in the treasury of Ulysses ||. Sometimes it is called *πολις*, white or shining ¶; and with this denomination is enumerated by Achilles

With gold, red brass, and women trimly zoned **.

* Il. vii. 341, 344.

‡ Odys. xvi. 294. xix. 13.

|| Odys. xiv. 324. xxi. 10.

** Il. ix. 365. xxiii. 261.

† Il. iv. 123. xxiii. 850.

§ Il. vi. 48. See also Il. x. 379, and Il. xi. 193

¶ Odys. xxi. 3 and 81. xxiv. 167.

The Greeks, at the siege of Troy, bought wine with brass, iron, oxen, hides, and captives, *Iliad* vii. 473; where it is αἰθρῶν σιδῆρεω with shining, or polished iron, as it also is in *Iliad* iv. 484, where it is spoken of, as quoted above, as used by coachmakers for felling poplars. The Taphian merchants sailed to Temessa, trading for brass with shining iron, * which in one place is made an emblem of bravery †. Persons of obdurate dispositions are said to be possessed of “iron minds” ‡.

Apollo is introduced, *Iliad* iv. 510, exhorting the Trojans to battle, and telling them that the bodies of the Greeks were neither stone nor iron, that they could sustain the shock of their brazen weapons: and the sky is called σιδῆρεον ἦμαρ, the iron heaven, probably from bearing some resemblance in colour to polished iron §.

TIN is mentioned several times in the *Iliad*; but never, as far as I have observed, in the *Odyssey*. Its Greek name, κασσίτερος has been variously derived. One author says it has it, *παρα το θασσον τυρεσθαι*, because it is more easily melted than other metals. But the root *κασσα*, a harlot, because tin appears to be silver and is not, is, perhaps, the most rational origin in the Greek language to which κασσίτερος can be traced. I have, however, an opinion that the Greeks derived their name for tin from the Phœnicians, who sold it to them for silver, which metal in Hebrew is called כֶּסֶף; for we have the testimony of Homer, that the Phœnicians practised deceptions upon the simplicity of the early Greeks, by palming upon them toys and jewelry, for more valuable commodities; and Bochart has shewn that κασσίτερος must have been of Phœnician origin, “quia Chaldæi et Arabes stannum appellant vocabulis huic simillimis. Hic Num. 31, 22. pro Hebræo כֶּסֶף, et Græco κασσίτερος, Jonathan habet קַסְטִירָא *kastira*, et Jerosolymitanus interpres קִסְטָרָא *kistara*, et Arabs קַסְدִיר *kasdir*. Et in tractu Talmudico Sanhedrin קַסְטִירִין *kasterion* est Stannum.”

* *Odys.* i. 184.

† *Il.* xx. 372.

‡ *Odys.* v. 191. xxiii. 172.

§ *Odys.* xv. 328, and xvii. 665.

The corslet of Atrides was given to him by Cinyras, king of Cyprus, and was made of ten rods of cyanite, twelve of gold, and twenty of tin; and had three cærulian serpents on each side, entwined round its neck*. The shield of the same hero had twelve orbs of brass, twenty bosses of white tin, and one boss in the centre of dark cyanite, upon which Gorgon, with Flight and Fear, were carved†.

In constructing the shield of Achilles, Vulcan is said to have made use of gold, silver, brass and tin‡. This piece of armour had two folds of brass, the two interior ones of tin, and the innermost one of gold§. One of the devises upon it was a vineyard, the fences of which were made of tin||; and in the picture of the beeves, half the herd were made of the same metal¶. The greaves of Achilles were also made of "ductile tin**, newly-wrought"††.

The corslet, which Achilles took from Asteropeus and gave to Eumelus, was made of brass and edged round with shining tin‡‡; and the chariot of Diomede was ornamented partly with gold, and partly with tin||||.

There can be no question but the propriety of the names which Hesiod has given to the successive tribes of men, which he supposes have existed upon the earth, consists in the comparative estimate between the purity of morals, which each of these races of men possessed, and the relative value of each of the metals, to which the several ages are compared. As gold, silver, brass and iron, in Hesiod's time, bore a regular decrement in value in the order they stand; so the successive generations of men sunk in value from the first; and, therefore, he styles them the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. But these names were also probably given with some allusion to the order in which

* Il. xi. 20, &c.

† Il. xviii. 474.

|| Il. xviii. 565.

** Il. xix. 612.

†† Il. xxiii. 561.

‡ Il. xi. 33, &c.

§ Il. xx. 271.

¶ Il. xviii. 574.

‡‡ Il. xxi. 592.

|||| Il. xxiii. 503.

metals were discovered. For this poet tells us that, in the golden age, golden chains were worn round the body* ; and amongst the brazen race,

Their arms were bronze, their houses bronze, the tools
They worked with bronze : no iron black was then †.

Even in his own time, iron does not seem to have been in such abundance as to render it inferior in value to brass ; for in his description of the plough, then in use, he directs that the share be made of the wood of the ilex tree ‡. He speaks, indeed, about whetting iron §, and felling wood ¶ with it, and says, that “ Hercules put upon his shoulder iron, the aid of battle, but the quiver, which was full of arrows, he cast upon his back” ¶¶. We have seen from Homer, that, in the time of the Trojan war, the sword was suspended from the shoulder in a belt. Are we then, from this last passage, to conclude, that the *αρης αλκτηρ σιδηρος* was an iron sword, or a quiver full of iron-headed arrows ? I incline to the latter sense ; because in his description of the shield of Hercules, he mentions a sword of brass ** ; and because he expressly says, that the spears of Hercules, Cygnus, and Mars, were made of brass ††.

That iron had come into a certain degree of common use in edge-tools, in Hesiod’s time, there is, however, a remarkable proof in the lines which direct, that “ in the feast of the gods the withered part of a five-fingered branch should never be cut from the green part with sable iron” ††. Every one knows with how much care the guardians of religion, under the Greek and Roman mythology, laboured to preserve their ceremonies from every kind of innovation : and there are numerous allusions, in ancient authors, to the use of instruments of brass about the altar, after similar instruments intended for civil and

* Op. et Di. 74.

‡ Id. 434.

§ Id. 418.

** Id. 221.

†† Op. et Di. 741.

† Id. 149.

‡ Id. 385.

¶ Scut. Herc. 128.

†† Id. 135, 414.

military purposes had, for many centuries, been made of iron. The Scholiast, upon the following line in Theocritus,

Α θύος εν τριόδωσι, το χαλκίον ὡς ταχὺς ἀχί, *

Says, "that brass was much in use, in religious matters, amongst the ancients, especially in all expiations and purgations, as Apollodorus has shewn in his treatise concerning the gods." Plutarch also relates, that in the night before the great battle between P. Æmilius and Perseus, there was a total eclipse of the moon, during which the Romans, according to their usual custom, made a great noise upon vessels of brass, and held up burning faggots and torches till her light was restored. Similar accounts are also recorded by Livy and Tacitus, and Manlius says,

*Ultima ad Hesperios infectis volucris alis
Seraque in extremis quatiuntur gentibus æra.*

Sophocles describes Medea cutting poisonous plants with a brazen hook, having her hands behind her back, lest she should be injured by their noxious smell; and pouring the juice of these herbs into brazen vessels: and Macrobius, after observing that Virgil unquestionably took the idea of his brazen falces from this passage in Sophocles, adds, "that brazen things were almost exclusively used in divine matters, there is abundant evidence: and they were chiefly used in those sacred rites, in expiations, in the consecrations, and in driving away any disease, which may be seen in the second book of that very curious and learned author Carminius, respecting Italy, where he says, "The Tuscans, as I find in their Tayetan mysteries, formerly used a brazen ploughshare when they intended to build a city; and amongst the Sabians, the priests were wont to be shaved with razors of brass."†

I am not able to point out the precise age, in which the use of brass in arms began to give way to that of iron: it was probably gradual:

* Idyl. ii. 36.

† Saturn. lib. v. Ed. Zeumii, p. 552.

it certainly prevailed among the Greeks long after the time of Homer and Hesiod. The Carians and Ionians, people of Asia Minor, used brazen arms in the year 670 before Christ. During the joint reign of the twelve kings in Egypt, an oracle had declared, "that whoever of them should perform a libation, in the temple of Vulcan, from a brazen cup, should be sole monarch in Egypt." "Upon the last day of a certain festival of that God, when they were going to perform the libation, the chief priest reached to them the golden cups, which they were accustomed to use in that solemnity; but, mistaking their number, gave out only eleven instead of twelve. Psammitichus, who stood the last, not having a cup, took off his helmet, which was of brass, and from it poured his libation." His colleagues in office, fearing this circumstance might be taken for the fulfilment of the prediction of the oracle, abridged him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy district. He resolved, however, to be revenged upon them for this ignominious treatment; and, therefore, "sent to the oracle of Latona, at Butos, upon the veracity of which the Egyptians place the greatest confidence, and received this answer:—'That revenge would rise from the sea in the appearance of brazen men.' This prediction he treated with the greatest incredulity. But not long after, certain Ionians and Carians, while engaged in a piratical voyage, were driven into Egypt. As they landed *armed in brass*, an Egyptian ran to inform Psammitichus, who was then residing in the marshes, (*for the man had never before seen men armed in brass*) that brazen men had risen from the sea, and were ravaging the country. The king perceiving the prediction of the oracle to be complete, formed an alliance with the Ionians and Carians, whom he gained over by splendid promises; these, with the Egyptians under him and other auxiliaries, overturned the kings; and he thus became sole monarch of Egypt." *

Pindar, who flourished about 470 years before Christ, very frequently introduces his gods and heroes clad in brazen armour †.

* Herod Euterpe 147, 151, 152.

† Olymp. Od. iv. Nem. Od. i, ix, xi.

He mentions brazen spears,* and styles them brazen-cheeked †: calls Mars χαλκεις and χαλκασπις ‡: speaks of limbs wounded with shining brass §; of brazen axes ||; brazen shields ¶; and the brazen bows of the Amazons **; and has numerous other references to the use of brass in warlike weapons. It is further remarkable that he mentions an anchor with brazen cheeks; and brazen implements as used in ploughing; but there are reasons to suspect that he often introduces brass more in allusion to the manners of the heroic age, and for poetical effect, than from any just ground of authority he had for embellishing his poetry with it, on account of its *general* use in his own time.

Sophocles, 450 years before Christ, in his tragedies, all of which that are extant are founded upon transactions connected with fabulous or heroic history, mentions the dedication of spoils all of brass to Jupiter Tropæus ††; axes all of brass ‡‡; and calls Mars brazen-voiced §§, probably from trumpets being made of brass.

The Massagetæ were a great and powerful nation, whose territory bordered upon Scythia, and stretched beyond the Araxes, a river that empties itself into the eastern side of the Caspian sea. It was in a battle with this people that the elder Cyrus was slain, 528 years before Christ; and Herodotus, after describing the circumstances attending that event, gives the following account of the Massagetæ:—"In their food and clothing they resemble the Scythians. Their forces consist of cavalry and infantry, both of which are powerful: they are divided into distinct companies of archers, spearmen, and axe or halbert-men. They use gold and brass in every thing. *For in such things as belong*

* Olymp. Od. i. Nem. Od. x. Pyth. iv.

† Nem. Od. viii.

‡ Olymp. Od. x. Isth. Od. iii. vii. See also Nem. Od. i. and Olymp. Od. xiii.

§ Olymp. Od. i. || Id. v.

¶ Id. ix.

** Nem. Od. iii.

†† Antig. 147.

‡‡ Elect. 198.

§§ Oedip. Col. 1101. and Ajax 17. Elect. 713.

*belong to their spear heads, the points of their arrows, and their battle axes, they make use of brass: but their helmets, their belts, and their breast-plates they adorn with gold. In like manner they put cuirasses of brass upon the chests of their horses, while their reins, bits, and trappings are decked with gold. They neither use iron nor silver, for neither the one nor the other is found in their country; but of brass and gold there is abundance.**

There was, in the time of Herodotus, at Exampæus, a city of Scythia, between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, "a vessel of brass, of the thickness of six digits. It was capable of holding, at the least, six hundred amphoræ; and the natives say that it was made out of the heads of arrows; for when their king Arantas wished to know the number of the Scythians, he commanded each person, upon pain of death, to bring him an arrow head. Thus a very great quantity of arrow heads were collected, and this vessel composed of them in memory of the transaction."† This account, however, offers a remarkable contradiction to an assertion the author has made in a preceding chapter‡ of the same book: for he there asserts that the Scythians were acquainted with gold; but never used either silver or brass.

Herodotus also, in his account of the Æthiopians says, that "their prisoners are all bound in golden chains; because brass amongst them is, of all other metals, the rarest and most precious"§. Why he should thus introduce the fact of the scarcity of brass in Æthiopia, I do not conceive, unless he intended it to be inferred that chains were made of that metal amongst the Greeks in his time. The Athenians, however, in the age preceding that of Herodotus, with the tenth part of the ransom of certain prisoners, purchased a chariot of brass for four horses, and placed it at the entrance into the citadel, with an inscription upon it, which mentions a chain of iron, "*δεσμος σιδηρεος*"||.

* Clio c. 215.

† The 71st.

|| Herod. Terps. c. 77.

† Herod. Melp. c. 81.

§ Thalia cap. 23.

In the time of the elder Cyrus there were in the circuit of the walls of Babylon one hundred ancient massy gates, which, with their hinges and frames, were wholly made of brass*; besides several smaller ones, which led through the walls to the river†. The brazen gate of the temple of Belus too, remained there in the time of Herodotus‡. But it would be endless to enumerate the various objects of brass, connected with the temples of the ancient heathen nations.

Perhaps the saying of Cleomenes to Crius of Ægina: "Come tip your horns with brass, that you may be prepared to meet a great calamity," was intended as a threat, and had allusion to fighting with weapons of brass||.

Several of the nations, who composed the army of Xerxes, 478 years before Christ, had helmets of brass; but no mention is made of their carrying any kind of offensive armour of that metal, though iron spears are particularised. The Sagartii, however, it is said, "are not accustomed to carry any sort of arms, *οπλα*, either of brass or iron, except daggers,"§ a mode of expression which seems to favour the supposition, that it was not uncommon for the soldiers, which Herodotus had been accustomed to see, to wear weapons both of brass and iron.

Hippocrates, who flourished 410 years before Christ, says, that "the Amazons burnt off the right breast: for while the girls are yet infants, their mothers apply to it a brazen instrument, with which it is seared."

The passage in Aristotle which relates, "that wounds made by spears and knives of brass are less painful, and heal sooner, than those made by iron edge-tools," seems to imply, that edge-tools of brass were still in use in his time. Indeed Strabo gives the same account of the armour of the Massagetæ¶ as Herodotus had done, four hundred years before his time; and also asserts, that some of the people of Lusitania pointed their spears with brass: "*τινες δὲ καὶ δοράσι χρῶνται, ἐπιδοράσιδες δὲ*

* Herod. Cli. c. 179.

† Id. c. 181.

§ Herod. Polym. c. 85.

† Id. c. 180.

|| Herod. Erato. c. 50.

¶ Lib. xv. c. ii. p. 352.

χαλκῶν *: but I have met with no authority in any Greek or Roman author to justify me in supposing that any kind of edge-tools of brass were in use, excepting in religious matters, either in *Egypt, Greece, or Italy, or any other civilised nation within the Roman Empire*, for the space, at least, of two centuries before Christ. I shall, therefore, close this part of the enquiry with a remark of an eminent philosopher of the present age, which, though not immediately connected with my subject, is, nevertheless, allied to the history of ancient brass.

Theophrastus, in speaking of the manufacture of glass, states, as a report, that “χαλκός was used to give it a fine colour; and it is extremely probable, that the Greeks took cobalt for χαλκός. I have examined some Ægyptian pastes, which are all tinged blue and green with copper; but though I have made experiments on nine different specimens of ancient Greek and Roman transparent blue glass, I have not found copper in any, but cobalt in all of them.”†

Gold, silver, and copper have been discovered, in various parts of the world, in a malleable state‡. Of iron, capable of yielding to the hammer in its native state, we are, I think, unacquainted with any well authenticated examples, excepting in the form of meteoric stones. We have seen that there was a time when the Egyptians worked their mines with tools of brass, and, consequently, when they were destitute of iron; but that its use was extensively known, both to them and to the Hebrews, in the time of Moses. It was not used in the tabernacle, probably for the same reason that it was excluded from the religious ceremonies of the Heathens.

While the speculative and commercial people of Egypt and Phœnicia, however, enjoyed the numerous advantages, which iron affords to society, we have seen sufficient proof from the writings of Homer and other Greek authors, that its use in arms was either altogether

* Lib. iii. p. 106.

† Sir H. Davy in Philos. Trans. for 1815, p. 109.

‡ Goguet's Origin of Laws, bk. ii. chap. iv.

unknown, or extremely confined, in the Grecian states, for more than five centuries after the death of Moses. The Egyptians attributed the invention of iron arms to Vulcan, and the Phœnicians to two of their most ancient heroes, who were brothers *. According to the Arundelian Marbles †, iron was discovered 286 years before the Trojan war, which account is also given by Strabo and other authors ‡, who assert that the burning of the wood upon Mount Ida, 73 years after Deucalion's flood, or 1438 years before Christ, lead to its discovery. This Mount Ida according to some was in Crete, but others say it was in Phrygia and inhabited by the people called Dactyli Idæi, who, as Diodorus Siculus writes, "not only found out the use of fire, and of brass and iron, but the art of working in these metals, in a place called Berecynthus." § The same author, in his Historic Library §, attributes to them only the art of forging iron, and adds, that they received it from the mother of the Gods: Pliny gives Hesiod as his authority for attributing this invention to the same people: He also asserts, that the Cyclops were the first who wrought in iron:—"fabricum ferrarium invenere Cyclopes" ¶. Other authors give the merit of this invention to the Chalybes, a people who lived upon the southern side of the Euxine Sea; and from whom iron, prepared for the purpose of edge-tools, was called *Chalybs*. Arrian, in his History of Alexander the Great, says "it has been accounted a crime to the Chalybians that they were the first who forged iron". Callimachus, 540 years before Christ, had made an allusion to the same fact ** ; and Catullus in his ode, De Coma Berenices, has imitated him in the following lines:—

"Chalybon omne genus pereat:
Et qui principio sub terra quærere venas
Institit, et ferri frangere duritiem."

* See Goguet Orig. of Laws, &c. Vol. I. p. 160.

† Ep. x.

‡ Strabo Lib. x. and xiv. Apollonius the Scholiast. Natales Comes, Lib. ix. Seneca Ep. 90. Clem. Alex. Stromb. line i. Virg. Æn. 609—620.

§ Re. Antiq. Lib. v.

§ Lib. xvii.

¶ Lib. vii. cap. 56.

** See Apollon. Schol. l. 2. Eusth. in Dionys.

This country is mentioned as producing iron in the last chorus of the *Alcestes* of Euripides; and Ammianus Marcellinus also expressly ascribes this art to them in these words :—" Chalybes per quos erutum et domitum est primitus ferrum" *. Zenophon, who passed through their country 400 years before Christ, says, " they subsisted chiefly by the manufactory of iron" †; and, 200 years before that time, the Prophet Jeremiah, where he asks—" shall iron break the northern iron and the brass," ‡ probably alludes to the iron of the Chalybes, and the brass of their neighbours the Tibareni and Moschi, who, under the name of Tubal and Meshech, are described by Ezekiel, as trading in the markets of Tyre, in vessels of brass ||. Virgil calls them " Chalybes nudi," who dealt in iron §. Eudoxus says, their country affords iron celebrated for the excellency of its temper; and Daimachus' Poliorceticon contains the following remarkable passage :—" Different sorts of steel are produced amongst the Chalybes, in Sinope, Lydia, and Laconia. That of Sinope and the Chalybians is used in smiths' and carpenter's tools; that of Laconia in files, drills for iron, stamps, and mason's tools; and the Lydian sort is manufactured into files, sabres, razors, and knives." ¶

Lycurgus had recourse to a remarkable expedient to counteract the luxury and avarice of the Lacedæmonians. " He abolished the use of gold and silver money, and ordered that iron money only should pass, giving to a great weight and bulk of it only a small value; so that a sum of the value of ten minæ, would occupy a large apartment, and take a yolk of oxen to remove it. By this severe measure, many sorts of vices were banished from Lacedæmon. For who would steal, or be bribed, or cheat, or rob, when the object of his avarice could neither be hid nor make him happy in its possession, nor be applied to any useful purpose? For it is said, that by slaking hot iron in vinegar, it is deprived of its useful properties and strength, and rendered unfit to work with and to be worked."

* Lib. xxii. c. 8. ed. Bipont. Vol. I. p. 300. † Retreat. v. p. 542.

‡ Chap. xv. 12.

|| Chap. xxvii. 15.

§ Geor. i. 58.

¶ See Bochart's Phaleg. p. 208.

This sort of iron money continued in use till the time of Lysander, about 400 years before Christ, when, according to Plutarch, that general sent a large sum of gold and silver money to Lacedæmon, which greatly offended the Spartans. A party of them, therefore, but unsuccessfully, endeavoured to get it decreed, "that no gold nor silver money should be received into the city; but that that of the country should continue to pass. This was of iron, but before it was issued it was dipped, while hot, into vinegar, by which means it could not be forged, for by the dipping it became unfit for edge-tools and brittle. Perhaps of old all the money was of this kind, the brass and iron being formed into obelisks, whence it continues to this day, that much of the small money in circulation is called *oboli*, six of which make a drachma, a term which means as many as the hand can grasp." *

The pier of the Piræus at Athens, in the time of Themistocles, was constructed of stones cramped together with iron and lead †: and we are told that Nitocris, queen of Babylon, and a person whose chronology is very doubtful, built a bridge in that city, the stones of which were similarly compacted ‡. Iron was also one of the articles among the stores sent to the siege of Nisæa §: and bricks and iron are enumerated among the materials collected for the purpose of circumvallating Syracuse, before Christ, 415 years §.

Herodotus says, that it was written, in Egyptian letters, upon one of the Pyramids, how much money was laid out in the progress of the work in radishes, onions, and garlic for the workmen; and which his interpreter, if he rightly remembered, said amounted to one thousand six hundred talents. If this was true, it would be scarcely credible if one were told how much more was expended in iron necessary to carry on the work, &c. in food and clothing for the workmen ¶. This account proves, at least, that Herodotus considered that iron was necessary in the work tools and machinery employed in carrying on

* Plut. Life of Lysander.

† Herod. Clio sec. 186.

§ Id. lib. vi.

† Thucyd. lib. i.

¶ Thucyd. lib. iv.

¶ Euterpe, sec. 125.

any great building, and consequently, that it was used in such things in his time.

Alyates, a king of Lydia, who died 562 years before Christ, made an offering at Delphi of "a silver cup, with a stand for it, made of iron welded* together. It was as worthy of observation as any of the things at Delphi. It was the work of Glaucus the Chian, who first of all found out the method of welding iron." † "The joinings of this stand were not made with clasps or rivets, but welding was the only fastening. In form it nearly resembles a tower rising from a broader base, into a narrow top. Its sides are not wholly continuous, but consist of transverse zones of iron, like the steps in a ladder. Straight and ductile plates of iron, diverge from the top of each bar, to the extremity." ‡ This stand was the only offering, made by the Lydian kings, which remained at Delphi in the time of Pausanias.

The phantom which appeared to Xerxes and Artabanus, urging the expedition against Greece, seemed to threaten to burn out the eyes of Artabanus with a hot iron. And about 540 years before Christ, the Phocæans, in their way to Cyrrus, "bound themselves by horrid curses never to forsake each other; they further threw a mass of red hot iron into the sea, and swore they would never return to Phocæa till it should appear again" §.

Pausanias tells us, that there was at Delphi a Hercules and the hydra made of iron, the work of Tisagoras, and observes, that "to make statues of iron is one of the most difficult and laborious things imaginable; but this performance of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is really

* I am not sure that *καλλαι*, when applied to joining two pieces of iron together, always signifies "to weld;" for I have been told that the Chinese have a method of *soldering iron with iron*, and even of repairing cast iron vessels, by filling up holes and cracks with iron solder. I am further inclined to this belief, from the supposition that the several white heats required for the numerous joinings of this stand would have destroyed the quality of the iron; and from *καλλα*, when it refers to other metals, being equivalent to our word *solder*, and meaning the substance applied in a liquid state to joining two pieces of metal together.

† Herod. Clio. 25.

‡ Paus. Phoc. c. xvi. sec. 1.

§ Herod. Polym. sec. 18. Id. Clio. sec. 156.

worthy of admiration. There are also in Pergamus iron heads of a lion and a boar, of admirable workmanship" *.

Aristotle had heard, "that the iron of the Chalybes and Mysiceans, was collected out of the sand beds of rivers," and says, "that some report, that after simply washing it, it is smelted in furnaces; and others, that after frequent washings the residuum is cast into the fire, and purified by adding to it a portion of the stone called pyrimachus†, which abounds in that country. This kind of iron is much brighter than others, and though it has only been once purified in the furnace, it gets a silver-like appearance: it is the only pure sort."

There is an edict of Paulus Æmilius, which forbids either gold or silver to be wrought in Macedonia; but gives permission for working iron and copper‡. Dionysius Periegetes has a line||, which mentions the fine edge of Aonian or Bæotic iron. And Strabo speaks of vast mines of brass and iron in Eubœa in former ages§.

These observations only refer to what is said respecting the discovery of iron among the Greeks, and its general use among them. I shall now draw together a few notices respecting its particular application to arms.

In the time of Cræsus king of Lydia, Lichas a Spartan, was on a visit at Tegea, a city of Arcadia; and during his stay there, happening to step into a smithy, he observed them forging iron, and was in admiration with the sight of the process¶. This city, in after ages, according to Virgil, was famous for its manufacture of swords.

"Tum lateri atque humeris Tegeæum subligat ensem" **.

It would be too much to infer from these authorities, that it was

* Phocids, cap. xviii. sec. 5.

† See Theophrastus de Lap. and De Laet's note on *pyrimachus*, from which it appears, that that stone was employed as a flux.

‡ Livy, lib. l. v.

|| The 476th.

§ Lib. x.

¶ Herod. Clio, 28.

** Virg. viii. 459.

the art of making swords which Lichas so much admired at Tegea, but it is plain enough that there was something either in the process, or in the excellency of the workmanship, which he had not been accustomed to see at Sparta.

Plutarch and Stobæus have preserved a beautiful fragment of a poem of Bacchylides on the praise of peace, from which the following lines are nearly a literal translation :—

“ O’er shields, with iron circles bound, the webs
Of sable spiders hang. The metal-pointed lance,
And double-edged sword with rust consume.
No more the brazen trumpet’s voice is heard ;
Nor honey-bearing sleep, that soothes the heart,
Is from the eyelids driven.”

If the poet drew his descriptions from objects that he had really seen, it is fair to conjecture that, in an age when iron made a part of the ornament and strength of a shield, it would be forged into offensive weapons, on account of its being better adapted for that purpose, when smelted and forged with charcoal, than brass ; and his mention of the points of spears and the blades of swords, being corroded by the action of rust, is satisfactory evidence of his allusion to spears and swords of iron and steel.

Anacreon, A. C. 530, mentions iron in conjunction with fire, in the proverbial way that we say, “ by fire and sword ;” and says that the arrows of Love were pointed with iron. And Pindar, A. C. 470, describes an abundant country as overwhelmed in calamity by the destructive force of fire and iron * : he also calls the spear which Achilles, when young, used in hunting, “ βραχυσιδαρτερ ακορτα,” a short-ironed dart †. In another place he uses the expression “ iron war” ‡. The iron throne, upon which he used to sit and sing the hymns, which he composed in honour of Apollo, was in existence, in the temple of that god, at Delphi, in the time of Pausanias ||.

* Olymp. od. x.

† Nem. od. iii.

‡ Id. v.

|| Phoc. xxiv. sec. 4, p. 234.

Atys, son of Cræsus, was unintentionally killed by a boar spear, having an iron point, by which event a dream of his father was fulfilled. In the account of this part of the history of Cræsus, the words, " *ἐν τοῖς αἰχμῇσι σιδηρῇσι*," occur three times*.

In the description of the forces which composed the army of Xerxes, 478 years before Christ, Herodotus has the following notices of iron armour. The Persians wore tunics on which iron scales were sewed, so as to resemble those of fish †; the helmets of their horsemen were ornamented with plates of brass and iron. The Indians had arrows made of reeds, and pointed with iron ‡. The Assyrians carried clubs headed with iron §. And the Arabians had short arrows, made of reeds, and pointed with sharp stones, such as seals are cut with, *instead of iron* §. I have before noticed from Herodotus, that the Sagartii used no kind of weapons *either of iron or of brass*; which seems to imply that both iron and brass were in use in arms in his time: by a similar inference, from his noticing that the arrows of the Arabians were pointed with stone *instead of iron*, one would be led to conclude, that iron was exclusively used among the Greeks, in his time, in arrow heads.

" There was a house of king Cyrus, in Cyprus, which was built of white and black stones, bound with gold, and in which were innumerable *iron lances*, windows of silver, and on its roof tyles of green-stone." ¶

The Thracian soldiers, who fought under Perseus, at Pydna, in the year 166 before Christ, " were men of terrific countenance, and exceedingly tall; their shields were white and glistening; their legs were armed with greaves; they wore sable vests, and as they marched, *their long pikes, which had heavy heads of iron* (' *οἱ πῆλαι καὶ βαρύνοντες* ') shook upon their right shoulders." In the place from which I have quoted this account, Plutarch is describing the order in

* Herod. Clio. sec. 34, 38, 39.

† Polym. sec. 61, 85.

‡ Id. sec. 64.

§ Id. sec. 69.

¶ Id. sec. 69.

¶ Luc. Ampelius' Liber Memorialis, edited at Leyden, by Salmasius, at the end of Elsiver's Florus, in 1738.

which the soldiers of Perseus marched out to battle. The last which quitted the camp was a Macedonian regiment, called from their brazen shields, *chalcaspides*: when these came out, "the field was filled with the splendour of steel and the shining of brass, and the mountains with the shouts and the tumult of the men cheering one another". At the first onset of the battle, neither the shields nor the cuirasses of the Romans could withstand the force of the Macedonian pikes. Plutarch quotes a History of Perseus, written by one Posidonius, in which "a dart wholly made of iron (*παλτοι εμπιστω ολκιδεροι*)" is stated "to have fallen upon Perseus. The point, indeed, did not touch him; but glancing obliquely past his left thigh, in the track of its descent, it pierced his garment, and blackened his flesh with a bruise, the mark of which remained for a long time." From these accounts it is plain, that not only the offensive arms both of the Greeks and Romans were, at that time, made of iron; but that the heads of the Macedonian pikes were of an excellent temper. The metal of which their swords were made, is not, indeed, mentioned: it is merely stated, that the short swords of the Macedonians were of no avail against the long shields of the Romans, while the weight and stroke of the Roman sword pierced through all the armour of the Macedonians to their bodies. It must, however, be inferred, from the pikes being of iron, that the swords were also of that metal; and this deduction is, I think, strengthened by the account which Plutarch gives of the Macedonian armour, in his beautiful description of the triumph granted to Æmilius for this victory: "On the second day came the most beautiful and highly finished of the Macedonian armour, carried in many waggon. These were refulgent with brass and iron, newly cleaned: and though they were arranged with the greatest art and taste, they yet appeared to have been thrown together carelessly and as chance directed; helmets upon shields, cuirasses on greaves; Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers and quivers, mixed with the bits of bridles; and the blades of naked swords bristling up amongst them and taller than these the Macedonian pike; all too having such due liberty to play in, that, as they were drawn along, their

united clank was so harsh and terrible, that, though they were the spoils of the vanquished, they were looked upon with fear." The brass that glittered was the body armour; the steel was the swords and pikes.

"The helmet of Alexander the Great was of iron, the work of Theophilus, but it shone like pure silver. To this was joined a collar also of iron, set with gems. The sword, which he commonly wore in battle, was admirable for its *temper*, 'Cαρη', and lightness; the gift of the king of the Citieans. The Rhodians honoured him with the belt which he used in engagements; it was the workmanship of old Helicon, and more superb than any of his other armour."* The metal of which this sword was made is not mentioned; but the word "βαρη," which in its primitive sense, signifies a *dipping* or *immersion*, and here, in a figurative way, the *temper*, is a sufficient proof, that the blade was composed of steel: for, if it had been of brass, Plutarch would have described its temper, by the word *χασις* or *μυξίς*, which are employed to signify that kind of temper or degree of hardness, which is obtained from mixing one metal with another; and implements of brass derived their temper from alloying copper with different proportions of tin or lead.

When Tyre was besieged by Alexander, its inhabitants distributed arms among the youth, and filled the workshops with artificers, with which their city abounded: but when they put the iron into the forge and were blowing up the fire, a sort of red stream rose under the flame, which resembled blood, and which they interpreted as a bad omen to the Macedonians. This account is from Q. Curtius †: the following relation is from Diodorus Siculus:—The soldiers of Alexander, during the siege, were annoyed from the walls by showers of sand, made red hot in shields of iron and brass. Large red hot plates of iron were, also, thrown upon them out of machines, and their artillery were broken, and their men killed, by grappling irons and crowst.

The reason which Agatharcides assigns for brazen tools being used in

* Plutarch's Life of Alexander.

† Lib. iv. c. 2.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 2. Curt. lib. iv. c. 3.

gold mines in Egypt, in the time of the first kings of that country, namely, because iron was then scarce, is a conclusive proof, that iron, in his time, was plentiful and commonly used in mining tools, and that brass was not then applied to that purpose.

I think I have now sufficiently proved, from Hebrew and Greek writers, some of them contemporary with the use of brass in arms and edge tools, that, in very ancient times, several of the nations, whose territories border upon the Mediterranean Sea, formed a great variety of implements of brass, which they afterwards made of iron. My next object shall be to shew, that when any of these ancient brazen implements fell under the notice of the learned Greeks of succeeding ages, they attributed them to an æra in which iron was scarce, and to a date either prior, or very little posterior, to the wars of Troy.

Diodorus says, that the Egyptians had among them a tradition that the art of forging copper and gold was discovered at Thebes; and that they were first made into arms to extirpate wild beasts, and afterwards employed in agriculture*. This testimony is corroborated by that of Agatharcides, already noticed in different parts of this essay: "There are found, even in our days, in the old workings of gold mines, in Upper Egypt, stone-chisels of brass, (which were used in these ages on account of the scarcity of iron) and incredible quantities of human bones, which show too clearly that great numbers of persons perished in these loose and extensive excavations." This author flourished about 180 years before Christ†.

Plutarch relates, that "the Athenians were directed by the oracle of Apollo to take up the bones of Theseus, which were buried in the isle of Scyros, and to deposit them honourably among themselves.

* Lib. i. p. 9.

† Tacitus mentions a dispute between the Lacedemonians and Messenians, respecting the right each party claimed in the temple of Diana at Limnæ, which was referred to Augustus; and in which the Messenians appealed to the testimony of records on stone and ancient brass—"Ære prisco"—Annal. iv. 43. Elz. p. 174. See Pausan Lacon chap. ii.

But it was difficult either to discover his tomb, or take up his remains on account of the inhospitable and fierce disposition of the barbarous inhabitants. Cimon, however, having conquered the island, felt a desire to find the bones; and seeing an eagle, on a certain elevated spot, beating the ground with her beak, and scratching it up with her claws, a sort of divine impulse directed him to open the place, where he found the coffin of a large body, and a spear head of brass, and a sword lying by it." This oracle was delivered while Phædon was archon, before Christ, 470; and Cimon died A. C. 449. This same story is related by Pausanias, and a similar one respecting the bones of Orestes, which the Spartans had, by a certain oracle, been commanded to seek*. "Lichas, coming to Tegea, collected them as if they were deposited in the work-shop of a copper-smith. The manner of collecting them was thus:—as many things as he found in the brazier's shop, he took them for the Delphic riddle, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀετῶν μαστῶμα*—likening the bellows of the brazier to the winds, because they emit a violent blast; the blow, was the hammer; the thing beaten, the anvil; and the emblem of man's destruction was *iron*†; because it *now began* to be used in war: for if the god had delivered this with respect to those called heroes, the destruction of man would have been brass; for, that all the arms of the heroes were of brass, Homer is my authority, where he speaks of the axe of Pisander, and the spear of Merion. My reasoning is further confirmed by the spear of Achilles, laid up in the temple of Minerva at Phaseus, and the sword of Memnon, in the temple of Esculapius; for the head and pike, 'ἡ αἰχμή καὶ ἡ σαρπητήρ,' of the spear and the whole of the sword were made of brass: and these things we know to be so."

Pausanias derived this account from Herodotus, who relates it in the following manner:—"At this time a commercial relation existed between the Tegeans and the Spartans; and Lichas, while at Tegea, coming into a brazier's shop, 'εἰς χαλκουργόν,' and seeing him beating

* Laconica. cap. iii. sec. 6. Edit. Fac. v. 1, p. 341.

† For the words of this oracle, see Herod. i. sec. 68.

out iron, was greatly struck with the sight of the process. The smith, 'χαλκωτο,' perceiving his astonishment, paused from his work and said: 'Since you so much admire the method of working iron, you would, O stranger of Sparta, be surprised, were I to inform you of a circumstance with which I am acquainted: for as I was making a well in this building, in digging, I fell upon a coffin seven cubits long; and, because I could never believe that men were formerly larger than they are at present, I opened it, and found a body of the same length as the coffin, which, after I had measured it, I reburied.' From this account Lichas was induced to believe that he had met with the fulfilment of the oracle respecting the body of Orestes: for he thought that the pair of bellows which he saw, might be the two winds; the anvil and the hammer, form opposing form; and the act of beating out iron, mischief heaped on mischief; founding his conjecture on this, *that iron was discovered to the injury of man.*" This transaction is supposed to have occurred about 560 years before Christ, and Herodotus flourished about a century afterwards.

Some hints and inferences may be collected out of Pausanias, respecting the state of metallurgy in the time of the Trojan war, and the process employed in forging the arms of the heroes; for he informs us that the first statues of brass consisted of numerous pieces joined together with nails, in such a manner that they had the appearance of a woven garment. The oldest of this kind was one of Jupiter, in Sparta, said to have been made by Learchus, of Rhegium, who, according to some, was the scholar of Dipœnus and Scyllis; but according to others, of Dædalus*. This method continued till long after the fall of Troy, for our author, speaking of a statue of Minerva, said to have been found among the spoils of that city, says, he could not be brought into the belief of the account, because the Samians, Rhœcus and Theodorus, were the inventors of the art of casting brass†; and, in another place he professes to believe, "that the sceptre or spear of Agamemnon, which, in his time, was preserved at Chæronea, was the

* Paus. vol. i. p. 406. ii. 392.

† Id. vol. ii. 301.

only work of Vulcan, that the poets had sung upon, or had descended to posterity with the praise of other men, that was deserving of credit as genuine. For though the Lycians, in the temple of Apollo at Pataræ, have a brazen cup, which they exhibit as a work of Vulcan; yet they are not aware that Theodorus and Rhœcus were the first who wrought in melted brass." We have, therefore, in these passages, the authority of Pausanias, for the conclusion that the warlike weapons used in the time of the Trojan war, were made of hammered brass *; which strengthens the inferences I have already drawn from Homer's description of implements used in making the shield of Achilles †: but the testimony of Pausanias respecting the discoverers of the art of casting brass, is applicable only to the Greeks: for many of the implements of the tabernacle of the Hebrews were founded in brass and silver ‡, 300 years before the Trojan war.

Pliny says, that "Cinyra, the son of Agriopa, both invented tyles and discovered mines of brass in the island of Cyprus; and that Aristotle supposed that Lydus, a Scythian, found out the art of smelting and tempering brass; though Theophrastus attributes these discoveries to one Dela, a Phrygian. Some attribute the trade in brazen utensils to the Chalybians, some to the Cycloprians." ||

The evidence I have been able to collect respecting the use of brass in edge-tools among the Romans, is neither so full nor so decided, as that I have advanced respecting its similar application among the Greeks. It began to be disused in Italy long prior to the age of the most ancient Latin authors, whose works have descended to us. We have, however, both the testimony of history and the remains of antiquity to prove, that there once existed in Italy a state of society somewhat resembling that of the heroic age amongst the Greeks, with respect to the use of that metal.

I have already shewn that the Sabines and Etruscans used implements

* Id. vol. iii. 134 and 301.

† See p. 31.

‡ Exod. xxx. 27, 28.

|| Nat. Hist. vi. 56.

of brass in their religious ceremonies. It was the same in Rome. The high priest of Jupiter cut off his beard with brazen scissors*. Romulus, about 750 years before Christ, marked out the boundaries of Rome, in a circle round the tomb of his brother Remus, with a plough upon which he put a brazen share, “ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβαλὼν ἀροτὴν χαλκῆν ὕμιν, &c.”† This ceremony was performed by Etruscans, who had an ancient ritual, which they always used in founding cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates, as may be seen in Festus, and in the authority already cited from Macrobius. Among the spoils which Romulus carried from the city of Cameria, was a brazen chariot, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan.

Plutarch enumerates only eight of the trades, which Numa incorporated in Rome, the only two of which connected with metallurgy, were goldsmiths and braziers‡, the college of the latter of which, according to Pliny, was the third in the order of institution: “collegio tertio ærarium fabrorum instituto”||. It is, however, probable, that the ‘χαλκῆν,’ mentioned by Plutarch, included *black-smiths*, as the Greeks expressed under that term such as wrought in iron as well as brass.

It has been asserted, on the authority of Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassus, that copper, amongst the Romans, supplied the place of iron for many ages, in arms and all kinds of tools and utensils§. Livy says, that Servius Tullius, when he instituted the census at Rome, divided the people into classes and centuries, and ordained that the first class should have “a helmet, shield, greaves, and coat of mail, all of brass, as a covering for the body; the offensive armour should be darts, a spear, and a sword”.¶ The words of Halicarnassus are, “he commanded them to bear Argive shields, spears, helmets of brass, breast plates, greaves, and swords”.** But the evidence here, that the spears and swords were of brass, is, at best, of a negative kind.

* Serv. on Ænid. i. 448.

† In his Life of Numa.

§ Goguet Orig. of Laws, vol. i. p. 157.

** Oxford Edit. 1704. vol. i. p. 212.

† Plut. Life of Rom.

|| Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 1.

¶ Lib. i. chap. 43.

Indeed, I think, that it amounts to a sort of proof that they were of iron; for if they were not, and Livy did not intend to convey such an idea to a Roman ear, why does he tell us that the defensive armour was of brass; but not particularize the sort of metal of which the offensive armour was made? There can be no dispute but that shields, helmets, and the like, were indifferently made of skins, cloth, and various sorts of metals: most commonly of leather, brass, or iron. He, therefore, to record a direct historical fact, mentions the particular substance of which the "*tegumenta corporis*" were made; but that of the "*tela in hoste, hastaque, et gladius*," is not mentioned, because every person in his time would naturally infer that they were made of iron.

That the inhabitants of Italy did, however, in some period of their history use brazen arms, is confirmed beyond all question, by the great numbers of all sorts of warlike weapons which have, from time to time, been dug up in that country.

"We may assuredly say," says a celebrated antiquary, "that of old, even after the use of iron was known, they made use of brass for arms, and other things, which at this day are all made of iron. A heap of brazen arrows was found at Rome, the number of which was so great, that several boats were loaded with them. They also made use of brass nails in boats, of so hard a temper, that they could drive them as well as iron ones: of this kind I myself brought one from Italy, taken from the ruins of Porto."* Two-edged tools, of the kind called celts, were found in Herculaneum.

The same observation is also applicable to other countries. Brazen swords, spear heads, chissels, and augers, of various shapes, have been discovered all over Europe, as well in parts which were once comprised within the Roman dominions, as in those to which it never extended. Count Caylus says, that fourteen celts were found under a stone twelve leagues from Paris, on the road from Versailles to

* Montfaucon's *Antiq. Expl.* vol. iv. p. 37. See also *Le Recueil d'Antiq. par M. le C. de Caylus*, vol. i. p. 237, 238, 261, and 262, as quoted by Goguet, vol. i. p. 157.

Houdan, and that some of the number appeared as if they had never been used. Many have also been found near Lyons *. Others on a mountain in Spain, between Lamas del Mauro and Carcalai, about twelve miles from Oviedo, in 1769 †. I could also bring numerous authorities for their having been found in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and in various parts of Germany and Russia; but the fact is too well known to stand in need of proof.

But I know of no account in any ancient author, of any of these nations using brazen armour. Strabo does, indeed say, in his description of the armour of the *Lusitanians*, that "some of that people used spears, headed with brass" ‡; and that the *Massagetæ* used "battle axes of brass" §. But, I conceive, that he gives the latter account on the authority of Herodotus, and not from any knowledge he had, that the *Massagetæ*, in his time, continued to arm themselves as they had done 450 years before. As to "some of the *Lusitani* using spears with brazen heads," there is no such account in the continuation to Cæsar's Commentaries, or in any other ancient author, with which I am acquainted. And Diodorus Siculus, after describing their shields, expressly affirms, that "they use bearded iron darts," and "have helmets and swords like those of the *Celtiberians*," who "wore brazen helmets, having plumes of a hand breadth in height, and two-edged swords, the blades of which were made of the very best steel" §.

Any difficulty that would arise in this part of the inquiry respecting the brazen falces, mentioned in the fourth *Æneid*, as used for cutting herbs with for incantations, has been sufficiently removed by shewing out of Macrobius, that Virgil borrowed his notions on that subject from Sophocles. Indeed, there could have been no need of illustrating that passage, if brazen implements for cutting with had been used in the time of Macrobius, or had commonly occurred as such

* *Archæol.* v. p. 117.

† *Id.* p. 118.

‡ *Lib.* iii. p. 106.

§ *Id.* p. 352.

§ *Rer. Antiq.* l. v. c. ix.

in Latin authors; but there was a mystery in it, and the commentator could clear it up only by advancing a sort of parallel custom out of the tragedies of Sophocles and the ancient books of the Tuscan and Sabine priests. Ovid also introduces Medea using brazen falces in incantations*.

But this was not the only thing in which the ingenuity of Virgil applied his knowledge of the ancient use of brass to the purpose of embellishing his poetry. He was not content that the steel armour of his time should gleam alone through the *Æneid*; but he sometimes introduced the corruscations of the brazen swords of Homer, as in this verse:—

“*Æratæ micant peltæ, micat æreus ensis*” †.

But the poet probably used the word “*æreus*” here entirely for the sake of quantity; for I cannot discover any other place in the *Æneid* where either swords, spears, or arrows of brass are mentioned. The shields and body armour are commonly of brass, the swords and spears of iron. In the following lines,

“*Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
Exultat, telis et luce coruscus ahenâ.*” ‡

The “*lux ahenâ*,” I think, was given from the defensive armour only. But in the account of the Amazon Camilla and her attendants, one of the heroines is introduced armed with a battle axe of brass:

“*—— Æratam quatiens Tarpeia securim*” §.

Here, then, are three instances produced from Virgil, of his mentioning implements, intended for cutting with, as being formed of brass: one of them used in incantations; the second a sword, where it is probable that Virgil wrote “*æreus*” instead of *ferreus* for the sake of quantity; and the third, the battle axe of a race of heroines, who, perhaps,

* *Metam.* vii. 228.

† *Æn.* vii. 743.

‡ *Id.* ii. 470.

§ *Æn.* xi. 656.

never had any other existence, than that which poetry and fable have given to them.

This is the only information I have met with, respecting the use of brass in arms and mechanical implements among the Romans, before their conquest of Britain. It contains no authority for the conclusion that they used brass in edge tools, in the Augustan age. It indeed appears to me, that there is no decisive evidence respecting the æra in which they applied it to such purposes. The notice of the brazen plough share, used in the Tuscan ceremonies at the foundation of Rome, affords no proof that brass, in that age, was employed in agriculture; on the contrary, I think, Plutarch, by particularising the metal of which the share was made, and connecting it with the religious rites of a people celebrated in antiquity for the use of such mysteries, meant to convey an opposite idea. But the great quantity of arrow heads of brass discovered in Rome either proves that brass was employed in arms after the foundation of that city, or that it had been the scite of some ancient town or fortress before the time of Romulus. Again, brass was certainly out of use when "Porsenna, in his treaty with the Romans, after the banishment of their kings, expressly forbade them the use of iron, except in agriculture:" for the prohibition of it in every other thing but agriculture, implies the previous use of it in other things. I have already noticed two similar occurrences in the history of the Hebrews*.

Pliny, too, as far as I could discover, in an attentive perusal of his Natural History, has no allusion to brazen implements, though he has several on the methods of making brass, and the purposes to which it was applied in his time; for it was a great article of luxury in the height of Imperial Rome, being then made into candelabra, capitals and pedestals of columns, the feet of tables, couches, and beds: also into the doors, statues, and various ornaments of temples. Perhaps the objection to Camillus having brazen doors to his house was of a religious kind, because it was considered an act of impiety to

* See p. 29.

emulate the splendour of the temples in the ornaments of private houses *.

I have already given my reasons for supposing that the Romans made their arms of iron before the time of Porsenna; above 500 years before Christ. The words of Pliny are, "In fœdere, quod, expulsis regibus, populo Romano dedit Porsenna, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur. Et stilo inscribere intutum est, ut vetustissimi autores prodiderunt." I know of no other Latin author who has noticed these facts: they were probably concealed because they sounded harshly on a Roman ear. Pliny, however, was a native of Verona, which city was founded by the Tuscans; he was, therefore, perhaps glad of an opportunity of shewing that Tuscany was once in a state to dictate terms to Rome. But these are not the inferences which apply to my present purpose. The humiliation of the Romans was so complete, that they were forbidden the use of iron even in the style; it was then unsafe to use it. Nothing, therefore, can be more plain than that iron styles were then in use as well as iron armour: indeed Valerius Maximus tells us that Mutius, when he entered the camp of Porsenna, was "ferro cinctus," and the conditions of the treaty confirm the probability of his assertion.

It were easy to collect out of Latin historians and poets, the most irrefragable testimony that the people of Rome, through all the ages of their authentic history, were in the habit of forging iron into all kinds of tools and implements. The word *ferrum* was synonymous to *arma*, and meant any weapon or tool made of iron. But I shall omit all evidence of this kind, and content myself with bringing a few proofs from Pliny, and other authors, respecting its general use, and the places in which it was procured in Italy, and in the countries of Europe most contiguous to Britain.

* Pliny xxxiv. 9. Tac. Anal. iii. Ed. Gron. i. 231. Cic. Ep. ad Attic. Lib. ii. Ep. 1. Tac. Hist. ii. where he mentions brass and lead as being used in cramping large stones together. There are cramps of brass in Trajan's column.

"Iron," says Pliny, "is both the best and the worst article of human life: for with it we till the ground, we plant shrubberies, we set fruit trees, and by cutting away their decayed parts, force the vines into a sort of perpetual youth. With this we build houses, we hew stone; we apply iron to all other uses. But it is the instrument of wars, and slaughter, and depredation; not being used hand in hand only, but in a missile way and feathered; now shot from engines, now thrown from the arm, now winged: which I esteem the most execrable artifice of human ingenuity. For that death may come more quickly to man we fledge it, and give wings to arrows. But the blame cannot be laid upon nature: numerous experiments have proved, that the physical properties of iron are innocent."

"Mines of iron are found almost every where, inasmuch as even Elba, an Italian island, produces it. They are discernable without the smallest difficulty, being distinguishable by the colour of the earth. But the same means are used in smelting all sorts of ores. In Capadocia only there is a question whether it be more allied to water or to earth, since the earth, washed in a certain river, without any other preparation, gives iron from the furnace.

"The different sorts of iron are numerous: the first consists in the kind of soil or climate that produces it: some yield a metal that is quite soft and akin to lead: some a brittle and brassy sort, to be particularly avoided in the use of wheels and in nails, to which the former sort is suitable. Another kind only answers in small things, such as nails and the studs of greaves; another is more readily susceptible of rust; and all these are called *stricturae*, a word applied *a stringendo acie*, of which other metals are not capable. And there is a great difference in furnaces: for in these, the best of the iron (*nucleus ferri*) is refined for edge-tools, and by a different process is solidified for anvils, and the heads of hammers: but the greatest difference is in the water into which it is dipped while hot; this being in some parts more useful than others, has rendered certain places famous for the excellency of their iron, as Bibilis and Turioso in Spain, and

Como in Italy, though there are no iron mines near them. But the palm of excellence is due to the Chinese iron before all other kinds: they send it with their garments and furs. The second in excellency is the Parthian: no other kinds of iron but these are formed of pure steel: in the rest it is mixed. That in our part of the world welds more kindly. In some places the ore gives this goodness, as in Norica: in some the mode of manufacturing, as by the waters of Sulmo: for there is even a difference between whetstones for oil and those for water in sharpening, the edge becoming finer with oil. It is also strange that, when the ore is smelted, the iron becomes liquid like water, but, after cooling into sponge-like masses, is brittle. The practice is to temper the lighter sorts of iron tools in oil, lest, if dipped in water, they be hardened to brittleness."

* Iron heated in the fire, unless hardened by blows, is spoiled. It is not fit to be hammered while it is red, not before it begins to grow white. Besmeared with vinegar or alum, it gets the appearance of brass. It is defended from rust by ceruse, and gypsum, and liquid pitch. This is the mixture which the Greeks call *Antipatheia*. Some, indeed, say that this may be effected by a sort of religious charm, and that there exists in the town called Zeugma, on the Euphrates, an iron chain, with which Alexander the Great had fastened a bridge, the rings of which, that have been since repaired, are infected with rust, of which the original ones are free."

Aristotle, speaking of Elba, says: "It is an island belonging to the Tuscans, which they now call *Æthalia*, and in which there are mines of brass, of the kinds of which their brazen vessels are at present manufactured; but they have failed, and produce nothing at present. In the lapse of time, these same mines have, however, yielded, not indeed brass as formerly, but iron of that sort, which the Tuscans use, and which they call Poplianian," * probably from its having been manufactured into different sorts of implements at Populonia, a town in Tuscany.

* Arist. Op. vol. i. p. 1094.

Virgil, in enumerating the forces of *Æneas*, has the following notice of Elba and its mines, in conjunction with Populonia:—

“ Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes: ast Ilva trecentos,
Insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.” *

Diodorus Siculus says, that “ *Æthalia* is in the Tyrrhenian Sea, opposite the city of Populonia, and about one hundred stadia from the continent. It had its name from a general called *Æthalia*, who governed it. In it the stone, out of which iron is forged, is dug; for they quarry that sort of mines, with which the island abounds. The iron melted from these stones, in furnaces, is divided into pieces resembling large sponges, in which shape the merchants bring it to market. Of this iron, artificers make the various kinds of implements suitable for agriculture and the different arts.” †

Pliny only says of this island, that it is called *Æthalia* by the Greeks, and that it has iron mines ‡; and in another place, that iron is found in almost every place, for even Elba, an island of Italy, produces it. §

Norica, a country at present included within the Austrian dominions, was, in ancient times, celebrated for its iron. Clemens Alexandrinus attributes the discovery of making iron malleable to its inhabitants||. Its iron was of excellent quality¶, and the swords made of it were in great repute, as appears from the following lines of Horace and Ovid:—

——— “ quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis, nec,” &c. **
“ Modo ense pectus Norico recludere.” ††
“ Durior et ferro, quod Noricus excoquit ignis.” ††

* *Æn.* lib. x. l. 173.

† Lib. v. c. 5.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 6.

§ Lib. xxxiv. c. 14.

|| *Strom.* l. i. p. 365.

¶ *Plin.* l. xxxiv. 14.

** *Hor. Od.* lib. i. od. 16.

†† *Hor. Epod.* xviii. 19.

†† *Ov. Metam.* lib. xiv. l. 712. See also *Zonar. En.* v. iii. p. 125, l. 58, respecting *Ferrea*.

The Celtic tribes, who inhabited Spain, "used shields of the length of a man, and ornamented according to the fancy of the owner. Some had them embossed with the figures of animals, in brass, slightly raised, as well for ornament as for defence. The head they protected with low brazen helmets, on which horns were stamped, or the figures of birds or beasts were carved. Their trumpets, after the manner of savages, were made to give a shrill and alarming sound. They use *iron cuirasses*. Some, to whom nature only has given arms, fight naked. Instead of swords they wear *longish iron knives*, hanging from their right shoulders in chains of brass. Some over their vests have belts of gold or silver. They also fight with darts, which they call *lances*, and which have *iron heads* of about a foot and a half in length, and something less than two hands broad. Their swords are not shorter than the boar spears of other countries; and their boar spears are broader at the point than swords; these they sometimes make straight, sometimes curved, so that they either strike or stab their adversaries."

"Some of the Celtiberians have light bucklers, others have round targets, of the size of shields. They twist greaves, made of hair, round their legs. They wear brazen helmets, with plumes. Their swords are two edged, and have blades of the very best iron, and with these they carry daggers, about a span long, which they use in close fight. They prepare iron for arms after a manner of their own; for they put thin iron plates into the earth, where they let them remain till the weakest part is consumed by rust: the stronger part remains, and of this the most excellent swords, as well as other sorts of arms necessary in war, are made. No shield, helmet, or other sort of defensive armour is proof against weapons which have been fabricated by this process."* Plutarch, in his treatise on Primitive Gold says, that "smiths throw marble and the chippings of stone upon iron that is hot and ready to melt, thereby preventing over much flux, and causing it to cool." I

* Did. Sic. Rer. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9.

suspect that this process, by supplying the iron with carbon, assisted in forming it into steel. *

“The Lusitanians use small bucklers made of sinews. These they use with so much quickness, that they both ward off blows and arrows with them. Their darts are of iron and barbed. They wear a helmet and a sword, after the manner of the Celtiberians. They throw their darts to a great distance, and with exquisite skill.” †

That the Gauls were well acquainted with the use of iron, is sufficiently evident from their using inch bolts of it in their ships, and iron chains instead of cables, in Cæsar’s time ‡, who also informs us that the Bituriges, a people of Berry, “drove mines under the mount, which his soldiers raised against their city,” and that “they were the better skilled in that art, because they had large iron mines amongst them; and had the knowledge and use of all sorts of drifts”. § A sort of stakes, with hooked iron heads, were used by the Romans at the siege of Alesia, and these they called Stimuli. || “The people of Marseilles had a sword which they had preserved from the foundation of their city, and with which they executed criminals. It was indeed eaten with rust, and scarcely fit for its office: but it serves to show that even in the least matters, all the vigour of an ancient custom is to be preserved.” ¶

Plutarch, in his life of Caius Marius says, that “the Cimbrian cavalry wore helmets which represented ferocious wild beasts, with open jaws and of uncommon shapes: on these they fixed plumes of feathers to make them appear taller. They were also adorned with breast plates of iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each had a double edged javelin, and in close fighting they used large and heavy swords.” ** These were the weapons of one of the German

* Morals. Steph. ed. p. 1757. The same author also says, that iron is one of those things which, if dipped in water is made more solid and compact by the cold in proportion to its being hotter, p. 1743. See also the Cluet process of making steel in Philos. Magazine.

† Diod. Sic. Rer. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9.

‡ De Bel. Gal. iii. 13.

§ Id. vii. 22.

|| Id. vii. 63.

¶ Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. vi. sec. 7.

** P. 767.

tribes, one hundred years before Christ. Let us see how it answers to the descriptions of other historians.

Tacitus filled an official situation under the Roman government in Germany; we may, therefore, suppose him to have left us some account of the kind of metals which the Germans used in their offensive armour; and accordingly we find him relating, in his account of the manners of that people, that "iron did not abound among them, which he inferred from the kind of darts which they used. Swords and the greater lances were rare among them; but they bore spears, which they called *frameæ*, having short and narrow iron heads, but so sharp and convenient, that, as circumstances required, they either closed with them or threw them at the enemy. Their cavalry were content with a spear and a target. Each of their infantry has several missile weapons, which they throw to an immense distance." This he says of the Germans in general: there are a few other scattered hints in his enumeration of their several tribes.

"The strength of the Catti consists of foot soldiers, whom they load not only with arms, but with iron tools and provisions—*quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant*. The bravest of them, till they have slain an enemy, wear an iron ring, which they consider as an emblem of ignominy and slavery, and from which nothing but the blood of an enemy can absolve them."

"The tribes of the *Æstii* inhabit the right coast of the Baltic Sea. They speak a language somewhat resembling the British. Iron is rare among them, clubs being their chief weapons."

These extracts are sufficient to prove, that in the time of Tacitus, brass weapons were not in use among the Germans. He has no allusion to them. But from Eoccard and other German authors, it is evident that arms of brass were at one period common in that country, for several of them have been discovered in the Holsatian and other barrows, which also contain spear heads, hammers, and hatchets, all of stone; and we know that the mode of burial which had prevailed when these implements were committed to tombs, was still common in the time of

Tacitus. "Their funerals," says he, "were without ostentation. They attend to nothing more than burning the bodies of distinguished persons with certain kinds of wood. Neither garments nor perfumes are thrown upon the pile; but the arms of every one, and sometimes his horse, are committed to the flames. Earth composes the tomb. The pomp and laborious honours of monuments they reject as oppressive to the dead." *

Having seen that arms and implements of iron were in common use among the continental nations of Europe, both before and after the time of Cæsar, it remains that some enquiry be made into the trade carried on by the ancients with Britain, and into the history of the use of brass, iron, and tin amongst its inhabitants, prior to the invasion of their country by the Romans.

Great Britain and its adjacent isles received the name of *The Britanic Isles*, from two words *brēt — ānāc*, which in the Phœnician language signify *The Land of Tin*: amongst the Greeks they were called *the Cassiterides* for the same reason, as is evident from these words of Mela, "quia plumbo † abundant, uno omnes nomine Cassiterides appellant;" and these of Pliny; "Cassiterides dictæ à Græcis à fertilitate plumbi."

In what æra the people who inhabited the shores of the Mediterra-

* See Luc. Phars. lib. ix. l. 175. and the account of the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, in which his spear, sword, &c. were found.

† The ancients, and especially Pliny, seem to have supposed that tin and lead were of the same species of metals, at least that they were both produced from the same kind of ore; for in speaking of the metal which he calls black lead, he says "Plumbi nigri origo duplex est: aut enim sua provenit vena, nec quicquam aliud ex se parit: aut cum argento nascitur, mistisque venis conflatur: ejus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor, *stannum* appellatur: qui secundus, argentum; quod remansit in fornacibus, *galæna*, quæ portio est tertia addita venæ; hæc rursus confata, dat, *nigrum plumbum*, deductis partibus duabus." From the same author it is, however, evident that by *album plumbum*, *stannum*, and *candidum plumbum*, tin was signified; for in another place, speaking of lead, he says, "it is of two kinds, the white and the black: the white (*candidum*) is the most valuable, and is called by the Greeks, *Cassitéron*:" and "the white (*album*) has got the superiority, and in the Trojan age, as Homer testifies, was called *Cassiteron*."—Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 16.

nean sea first visited Britain, is exceedingly uncertain. Pliny says, that "Midacritus was the first, who brought *plumbum* from the island, Cassiterides." And Bochart observes, that this name should be read *Melicartus* or *Melcarthus*, that is, according to Sanchoniathan, the Phœnician Hercules, to whom his countrymen attributed the first voyages to the western parts: * for Midacritus is a Greek name, and the Greeks, as Herodotus ingenuously confesses, were unacquainted with the Cassiterides from whence the tin they used was derived. Many are of opinion that the Phœnician Hercules was a contemporary of Moses: Bochart thinks their first settlement in Spain was made in the time of Joshua. †

That the ancients derived their tin from Britain and the Scilly islands, may be satisfactorily proved. The only thing which Herodotus was able to speak decidedly upon with respect to the Cassiterides was, that they were situated in the ocean, on the western side of Europe, and that the tin and amber imported into Greece, came from these remote parts. Polybius, in the third book of his history, promises to give some account of the British islands, and the methods of preparing tin; and, that he performed that promise in some of his books that have perished, is evident from a passage in Strabo, in which he compares and criticises upon the opinions of Pytheas, Dicæarchus, and Eratosthenes, respecting the extent of Britain. Strabo himself calls Britain a country rich in tin and lead. Diodorus Siculus says, that it is dug up in the island of Britain in rocky ground, and after being smelted, is exported to Gaul; and Cæsar mentions "*album plumbum*" as a product of Britain.

* An inscription discovered at Malta, on a piece of marble, and written in Phœnician and Greek characters, mentions the Phœnician Hercules, and is thus translated by the Abbé Barthelemy: The Phœnician:—"We Abdassar and Asseremor, the sons of Asseremor, the son of Abdassar, having made this vow to our Lord *Melcrat*, the tutelary divinity of Tyre: may he bless and guide us in our uncertain way." The Greek thus:—"Dionysius and Serapion to Hercules, surnamed *Archegetes*." See Boisgelin's *Hist. of Malta*, vol. i. p. 5.

† Phaleg, lib. iii. p. 189.

The fact that the ancients derived their tin exclusively from Britain and the Scilly islands, furnishes us with a proof that these countries were sometimes called the Hesperides and the Oestrymnides. Dionysius Periegetes has the following lines :

The stern Iberi's wealthy offspring dwell
In isles, Hesperian called, where tin abounds.

These Iberi were the Silures, a people who, according to Tacitus, resembled the Spaniards. And Festus Avienus evidently alludes to Britain and its islands, where he says, that " the Oestrymnides stretch far out into the sea, and are rich in mines of tin and lead".*

I am, however, aware that both Diodorus Siculus and Pliny were of opinion that Spain produced tin. The words of Diodorus are " Tin is found in many places in Spain, not accidentally, as some authors assert; but the report is, that it is mined and smelted in the same manner as silver and gold. For over against Lusitania, very much tin is dug up in islands of the ocean, not far distant from Spain, which from their tin are denominated the Cassiterides: much, however, is

* Concerning the island called Atlantis, which Homer describes as a sort of terrestrial paradise, and which was afterwards largely written upon by Solon, though there are many fabulous things related concerning it in the writings of the ancients, yet it is certain that it was situated in the Atlantic ocean, and on the coast of Africa. The Greeks derived their accounts of it from the Egyptians; for Solon, according to Plutarch, heard its history from Psenophis and Senchis, two Egyptian priests. Aristotle says, that it was discovered by the Carthagenians, and that it was many days sail from Cadiz. Plato makes it of greater extent than Asia and Africa; but that it was swallowed up by the sea in one night and a day; and Diodorus Siculus says, that it was discovered by certain Phœnicians, who, after being many days tossed about by a tempest that overtook them on the coast of Africa, were at length driven to this island. Plutarch, in his life of Sestorius says, they are two in number, separated by a narrow frith of 10,000 furlongs from the coast of Africa. They call them the Fortunate Islands. He gives a large description of them, and says that they are the same as Homer has described in the fourth book of the Odyssey. Perhaps all the accounts of them are more or less mixed with fable; but they shew clearly enough, that the Egyptians and Phœnicians at an early period were accustomed to make voyages in the Atlantic ocean at early periods of their history.

taken from the island of Britain to the opposite shores of Gaul." What is to be inferred from this account? Not that tin was really produced in the peninsula of Spain; but in the Cassiterides, which he supposed to be islands of that country. Pliny's account is, that "tin was called by the Greeks Cassiteron, and was fabulously* reported to be found in certain islands of the Atlantic ocean, from which it was transported in wicker boats, covered with hides. It is now certain that it is produced in Lusitania and Gallacia." What he here asserts cannot be positively denied†; but if he had no better authority for saying that tin was found in Portugal and Gallacia in his time, than he had for pronouncing the report, that tin was found in islands of the Atlantic ocean, to be fabulous, his assertion is unworthy of credit.

I have already noticed that the brazen mirrors, of which the laver and its foot were made‡, were probably formed of a composition of

* Pliny probably aimed this censure at Timæus, for in his account of Britain he says, on the authority of that author, that "within six days sail from Britain there is an island, called Mictis, in which tin abounds. To it the Britains sail in osier boats, covered with leather." Diodorus' account, which was also probably derived from Timæus, but more correctly stated, is, "that after the tin was dug out of the rocks and smelted, it was carried, when the tide was out, in carts into the island, Ictis, whence it was taken in ships to Gaul, and thence on horses, thirty days journey, to the source of the Po; also to the markets of Narbonne and Marseilles." I take both this Ictis and the Mictis of Pliny to be the same as the Vectis of other Roman authors, and which is now called the Isle of Wight. That there should be many contradictions in the early Greek and Roman writers, respecting the situation of the country from which tin was then derived, is not to be wondered at, when we learn from Strabo, that a Phœnician captain, wrecked his own ship on shallows, in order that the same fate might follow a Roman vessel, which followed him for the purpose of discovering the place from which that people derived their tin; for the Cassiterides were then known only to the Phœnicians.

† It is certain that tin is found in the White Ridge of the mountain Cresta di Gallo, about a league from Ronda; but both the mine and the manufactory for tinning iron plates have been for some time entirely decayed, on account of the plates costing more than they can be imported for into that country from England. The same ridge also contains almost every other metal except iron, which is found in great abundance in a limb of the same mountain, called the Red Ridge. See Jacob's Travels in the South of Spain, p. 390.

‡ P. 18.

copper and tin: and have shewn that tin is enumerated with gold, silver, brass, lead, and iron, as being in use 1452 years before Christ. Isaiah alludes to its being used in purifying the precious metals A. C. 760; and Ezekiel, 112 years after, says, it was brought from Tarshish into the markets of Tyre. From which I infer that the Egyptians, before the Hebrews left their country, were acquainted with tin, and consequently, that they imported it, by the way of Tarshish, from Britain, as the only country where it was to be found, in the same manner as the Tyrians did in the time of Ezekiel.

That the Tarshish or Tarsis of the Hebrews and Phœnicians, the Tartessus of the Greeks and Romans, and the Gadir or Gades of the Carthagenians, were all ancient names for the city at present called Cadiz, in Spain, there is no difficulty in proving. According to Ezekiel's account we have seen, that tin was brought from Tarshish to Tyre: if the ancients, therefore, had tin from no other country than Britain, Tarshish must have been either in Britain, or in some intermediate country between Britain and Tyre.

Polybius quotes certain treaties made between the Romans and Carthagenians, and which were existing in his time, on tables of brass, in the Ædile's chamber, in the capitol at Rome: in the first of these, which was made twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece, it was agreed, that neither the Romans nor their allies should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, which is a cape in Africa, a little to the west of Carthage. In another treaty, in which the Tyrians and Uticeans were included, it was agreed that "it should not be lawful for the Romans to pillage, or trade, or build cities beyond Mastia and Tarseius," which were cities of Spain, as appears from the same author, where he speaks of the Spanish troops that were sent into Africa, in the time of Hannibal: these were "the Thersitæ, the Mastians, and certain mountaineers of Spain, called Olcades".

Aristotle had heard, that the most ancient of the Phœnicians sailed to Tartessus; and Strabo tells us that where the mouth of the river Bœtis, in Spain, divides into two parts, it is said that in ancient times

there was a city, called from another name of that river, Tartessus*. The same account is given by Pausanias,† who also mentions two bedchambers of Tartessian brass, as existing in his day, in the treasury of the Sicyonians, in Olympia. Appian says, that the temple of Hercules, which is at the columns, appears to me to have been built by Phœnicians, for Egyptian rites are used in it to this day; and the god of this people is not of Theban but of Tyrian origin. Diodorus Siculus relates that the Phœnicians, sailing in quest of wealth beyond the columns of Hercules, built a city, which they called Gadir: in it, among other edifices, they erected a temple to Hercules, which even to our time continued to be held in the highest veneration‡. Arrian's account is that the Hercules which was worshipped at Tartessus was, in his opinion, the Tyrian Hercules: because Tartessus was founded by the Phœnicians, and the temple there is built in the Phœnician style. Pliny, from Timœus, says, "nostri Tartesson apellant, Pœni Gadir".|| Velleius Paterculus thinks they built it about the time of Codrus, or 1080 years before Christ; and Philostratus and others "call it the ancient Gades".

Bochart has collected authorities out of Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, Pliny, and other authors, to shew that Spain, and especially Tartessus, were famous in ancient times for the metals, which Ezekiel says Tarsis sent to Tyre. In the time of Solomon we know that the Sidonians and Hebrews carried on a lucrative trade in gold, silver, and other articles, which were probably collected in trading voyages along the coast of Africa and Spain, and their cargoes being usually completed in the great emporium of wealth at Tartessus, it was, therefore, said that their ships went for these things to Tarsis, or as it is usually translated, to Tarshish.

Aristotle had heard that the most ancient of the Phœnicians when they sailed to Tartessus, purchased such large quantities of silver with

* Lib. iii. p. 148.

† Post. Eliac. xix.

‡ Rer. Antiq. lib. v. c. 7.

|| Lib. v. c. 22. In lib. iii. c. 1. he says, "Carteia, Tartessos a Græcis dicta."

oil and other nautical trifles, that their ships were neither able to hold nor to carry it; they were, therefore, driven to the necessity of making their anchors, and such other tackling of their ship, as could be formed of metal, into silver, before they quitted the place.

Herodotus reports that the Phoceans were the first of the Greeks who made distant voyages, and that explored Iberia and Tartessus*, about 540 years before Christ; and in another place says, that Coleus, a Samian, was accidentally driven beyond the columns of Hercules to Tartessus, a port at that time but imperfectly known †.

After Moses, Homer is the next author who mentions tin ‡; but no where, that I can recollect, with any reference to the country that produced it, or how the Greeks obtained it. Amber, however, occurs three times in the Odyssey §, and in one of the places a Phœnician merchant is introduced as endeavouring to sell a chain of gold set with that fossil ¶. Tin and amber also occur in Hesiod ¶; and Herodotus, speaking on certain geographical matters, observes: "I have nothing which I can relate with certainty respecting those extreme parts of Europe, which lie to the west; nor can I assent to those who tell us of a river, which the barbarians call Eridanus, whence it is said amber comes, and which, running northward, empties itself into the sea. Neither have I any knowledge of the islands called Cassitrides, from whence tin comes to us, for the name Eridanus is evidently Greek, and not barbarous; it was probably given by some poet. But though I have diligently enquired into this matter, yet I have not been able to meet with any one, who, from his own observation, could describe to me the nature of the sea which lies on that side of Europe: tin and amber do, however, come from these extreme parts." **

The Eridanus here mentioned, was probably the Rodaun, which, joining with the Motlau, falls into the Vistula near Dantzic, and on

* Clio. sec. 169.

† See p. 43.

§ Odys. xv. 459.

** Thal. sec. 115.

† Melp. sec. 152.

§ Odys. iv. 73. xviii. 295.

¶ Scut. Herc. 142. 208.

the banks of which abundance of amber is frequently found. In the time of Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, many absurd notions prevailed about that river being the same as the Eridanus or Po, in Italy; and about the sisters of Phaeton having on its banks been changed into poplars, which annually shed tears that became amber; but they both ridicule these fables, and Diodorus affirms that "amber was got in an island called Basilia, which was situated in the ocean, in a part of Scythia, beyond Gaul. There amber is thrown up in abundance by tempests, and it is found in no other part of the world." Pliny, on the authority of Philemon, says "it is a fossil, and is produced in two parts of Scythia. Sotacus believed it flowed from certain trees in Britain, which he called Electridæ. Pytheas said, that there was an estuary of the ocean, called Metonomon, the borders of which were inhabited by the Guttones, a German tribe; and in which there was an island, distant from the land one day's sail, and called *Abalum*; thither the 'maris rejectamentum' was carried by the waves and hardened: the inhabitants used it for fuel instead of wood; and sold it to their neighbours, the Teutones. Timæus was of the same opinion, excepting that he calls the island *Baltia*." From these accounts it is plain, (1.) that from the days of Herodotus to those of Pliny the ancients believed that amber came out of a country on the north west side of Europe; and their descriptions answer to the islands and shores of the Baltic sea *: (2.) that the Phœnicians traded into Greece with ornaments of amber before the time of Homer: (3.) and consequently that they had some sort of intercourse with certain people of Germany considerably to the north of that part of Britain which produces tin, one thousand years before the time of Christ.

That the Britons did not use edge-tools of brass in Cæsar's time, is, I think, clear, from the following considerations:—1. Their neighbours, the Germans and Gauls, were acquainted with the use of iron; and

* See these deductions still farther confirmed in Tacitus' account of the Estii.

were in the habit of frequent intercourse with them. Many of the maritime parts of Britain were inhabited by Belgians. Divitiacus, in Cæsar's memory, was not only the most powerful prince in Gaul; but had possessions in Britain*. Some of the Belgians, when in danger from the Romans, fled into this country†. And the Veneti, who lived on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, were expert seamen, and both traded to Britain and derived succour from thence in time of war‡. These and several other notices in Cæsar's Commentaries prove, that there was a regular intercourse between the Britons and Gauls, and consequently, that the arts of each nation were reciprocally known to each other, before Cæsar invaded Britain.

2. Cæsar says, "the Britons use brazen money and pieces of iron||, adjusted to a certain weight, instead of money. The interior of the country produces tin, and iron is got on the sea coast, but in small quantities; the brass they use is imported." Iron, therefore, of their own produce and manufacture, was in use among the Britons: the brass they had was supplied by foreigners: both were used in money; and if their arms were not sticks and stones, we are forced into the conclusion that their swords and spears were made of iron; for it was better adapted for the purpose of arms, than brass, and cheaper, because obtained at home.

3. Herodian says, they wore iron rings around their bodies and necks by way of ornament, and as a mark of wealth. The German youths also wore iron rings till they had distinguished themselves in battle by killing an enemy. There are also several notices in Pliny respecting iron rings as used among the Romans§.

4. If the Britons in Cæsar's time had used weapons of brass, he could not have failed to notice it as a singular circumstance: but

* De Bel. Gal. ii. 4.

† Id. ii. 14.

‡ Id. iii. 8, 9.

|| Scaliger reads *taleis ferreis*: some copies have *laminis ferreis*, and others *annulis ferreis*.

§ Vide Tac. de Mor. Germ. and Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. c. 1, and xxxvii. proœm.

neither he nor Tacitus, though they frequently mention the spears and swords of the British, take any notice of the metal of which they were formed; and Tacitus married the daughter of Agricola, from whom he no doubt derived the accounts of Britain, which he has given in the life of that celebrated general. Herodian, Dio Nicæus, and other authors, in their accounts of the arms of the Britons, are also silent respecting the metals of which they were made: but Mela expressly says, that they were similar to those of the Gauls; from which I infer that they were of iron.

5. Inscriptions to Jupiter Dolichenus have been discovered in Northumberland and Monmouthshire, and that god, as may be seen in Reinesius, was worshipped "*ubi ferrum nascitur*". In several parts of the county of Durham there are large heaps of iron scoria, especially to the west of Lanchester, and in North Tindal; but whether these are the refuse of Roman or more modern furnaces, I have no evidence. Lanchester was, however, a celebrated station of the Romans.

6. All ancient historians agree, that the Silures or ancient inhabitants of Cornwall were of Celtic origin, from the strong resemblances in national character which existed between them and the ancient Spaniards; who perhaps settled there at an early period in the history of the world, for the purpose of working the tin mines, or were brought over by the Phœnicians for that purpose; and we have seen that the Celtiberians were well skilled in the manufacture of iron. Besides which, how could the Phœnicians trade to Britain for any length of time without the use they made of iron, and its being superior to brass in edge-tools, being observed by the persons with whom they traded?

We have seen from Cæsar that the Britons imported the brass they used; and this account is confirmed by Strabo, who says, that Britain "is a country rich in mines of tin and lead, and in hides, which commodities the inhabitants barter for salt, earthen-ware, and articles of

brass".* From the first of these accounts we learn, that this imported brass was used as money : from the second, that it was brought into the county in a manufactured state, probably in kettles and other household utensils.

In Ziphilin's Epitome of Dion Cassius it is said, that the arms of the British infantry are a shield and a short spear, on the lower end of which is a ball of brass, to terrify the enemy by its sound when shaken. Much of the brass which the Britons imported in Cæsar's time, was probably in bars; for there are strong evidences that before his time they were acquainted with the art of casting it into implements of the kind called Celts, nearly one hundred of which were found on Earsley Common, twelve miles north west of York, "with a great quantity of cinders and several lumps of the same metal". Fourteen or fifteen of them, shewn to the Society of Antiquaries in 1750, were found in a pot, with pieces of metal which seemed to be the same as that of which the celts were made. Two masses of copper were also found with some celts in Norfolk. Ten pounds weight of them were found near Helsdon-hall, in the neighbourhood of Norwich, "with some pieces of copper, that appeared to have been broken off in casting." At Fifeild, in Essex, in 1749, a large quantity of metal for casting these implements was found, and several of them, with fifty pounds of the metal, were sent by Earl Tinley to Mr. Lethieuller.†

It is further remarkable in the history of ancient brass, as connected with Britain, that the implements usually denominated Celts, and the spear heads, and swords, discovered in Britain, as well as the brass

* Strabo also says, that when the Britons sued for peace and submitted to Augustus, duties were laid upon "such commodities as were exported and imported from Britain and Gaul: such as ivory, bridles, chains, vessels of amber and glass, and other like cheap and interchangeable wares".—*Gough's Camden*, vol. iv. p. 200.

† Arch. v. 114—116. *Gent. Mag.* for 1789, p. 799.

coins of the Greeks, Romans, and Gauls, were generally made of a composition of tin and copper.

M. Dizé, in 1796, published in the *Journal de Physique*, an account of an analysis of twenty-five grains of an ancient dagger, which contained tin and copper; and made several experiments on eight different sorts of coins, Greek, Roman, and Gallic, from which it appeared, that they contained from five-twelfths of a grain to twenty-four grains and a third of tin in 100 grains to each of the old metals, but no other metals but copper and tin.*

Dr. George Pearson, in the same year, gave an account in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, of certain experiments upon several ancient weapons and implements, one of which was a spear head, which contained nine parts of copper to one of tin, and a very small proportion of silver, which had probably been added accidentally. Three of the other instruments were Celts, one of them from Ireland and another from Cumberland, and each contained ten parts of copper and one of tin: the third had seven and a half of copper to one of tin.

“Copper, alloyed with certain proportions of tin, affords a metal sufficiently hard and strong for chopping tools for many useful purposes. Of such proportions, namely, about eight or nine parts of copper and one part of tin, there is very little doubt all the ancient nations, who were acquainted with the alloys of copper by tin, generally made their axes, hatchets, spades, chisels, anvils, hammers, &c. These metals united in these proportions, I believe, would afford the best substitute known at this day for the instruments just mentioned, now commonly made of iron. Accordingly, before the art of manufacturing malleable iron from cast iron was known at all, or at least practised extensively, that is, till within these last 4 or 500 years, the alloys of copper by tin must have been generally employed. Accordingly these Celts may be considered as specimens of the kind of metal tools in general use, before the art of manufacturing iron in the manner just mentioned was discovered. And it is no small confirmation of this opinion, that by analysis and synthesis we have found these

* *Philos. Trans.* xviii. 57. *Journ. de Physique*, 1796, p. 272.

metals to contain, in perhaps, most instances, the proportions of tin which renders them most fit for the uses to which they were applied. This proportion being considered to be about one part of tin and nine parts of copper." *

Humboldt, speaking of the bronze implements used by the Mexicans, says " that several men of great learning, but unacquainted with chemical knowledge, have maintained that the Mexicans and Peruvians possessed a particular secret for tempering copper and converting it into steel. There is no doubt that the axes and other Mexican tools were almost as sharp as steel implements, but it was by a mixture of tin, and not by any tempering that they acquired their extreme hardness. What the first historians of the conquest call *hard* or *sharp copper*, resembled the χαλκος of the Greeks, and the æs of the Romans. The Mexican and Peruvian sculptors executed large works in the hardest green stone (grünstein) and basaltic porphyry. The jeweller cut and pierced the emerald, and other precious stones, by using at the same time a metal tool and a siliceous powder. I brought from Lima an ancient Peruvian chisel, in which M. Vauquelin found 0·94 of copper and 0·06 of tin. This mixture was so well forged, that by the closeness of the particles its specific weight was 8·815. While, according to the experiments of Briche †, the chemists never obtain this maximum of density but by a mixture of ten parts of tin with 100 parts of copper." ‡

The same author further remarks, that it is a singular coincidence that tin, which is so little spread over the surface of the globe, should have been used by both continents in hardening copper; and that tin and copper are no way found in the mine naturally mixed, but at Wheal, in Cornwall, where they are in equal quantities. ||

* Dr. G. Pearson in Philos. Trans. vol. xviii. p.

† Journal des Mines, an. 5. p. 881.

‡ Polit. Essays, iii. 115. Also his Vues des Cordelières, &c. p. 118, 121, 122.

|| Polit. Essays, iii. 116. Dr. Berger, in his account of the Physical Structure of Cornwall and Devon says, there are " thirteen mines producing tin and copper; of which there are four in Redruth, four in Gwennap, three in St. Agnes, and two in St. Neot." See the Transactions of the Geol. Soc. vol. i.

It would, therefore, appear, that, to nations unacquainted with the use of iron, tin, on account of its property of giving hardness to copper, was much more valuable to the ancients than to the moderns. And if tin was used by the Romans in the sestertii and dupondarii, which were all either of brass or bronze (or of copper alloyed with some other metal than zinc or tin), while the ases were entirely of copper, it will follow, that, even among them, tin was of double the value of gold; for the Sestertium, which weighed an ounce, was worth four ases, each of which weighed half an ounce. *

But the ancients were acquainted with other alloys for hardening or altering the colour or the properties of copper besides tin. \ Aristotle says, "they report that the brass of the Mossynæci is the brightest and the most white, not being mixed with tin, but with an earth produced in their country, with which it is smelted." Strabo also speaks of a "silver-like metal, found near Andrea, a town of Phrygia, which was mixed with copper to imitate orichalcum." "The best mirrors of our ancestors," says Pliny, "were made at Brundisium, and consisted of tin and copper: now those made with silver are preferred. Praxatiles was the first that made them, in the time of Pompey the Great. The most ductile copper, live sulphur, and silver, are mixed together to form these." † He also tells us, that old household brass was used with copper in casting statues; in other cases, given proportions of lead, and silver yielding lead, were used: for "lead added to copper, gives to the robes of statues a purple colour". ‡ Much may also be seen in the same author respecting cadmia and chalcitis, which were either compound ores, which produced brass, or certain minerals, used as alloys of copper.

* See Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*, vol. i. p. 132, &c. Respecting the metals of which the sestertium and the as were made, the words of Pliny are, "Summa gloria [æris] nunc in Marianum conversa, quod et Cordubense dicitur. Hoc à Liviano cadmiam maximè sorbet et orichalci bonitatem imitatur in sestertiis dupondariisque, cyprio suo assibus contentis."

† Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 9.

‡ But this author sometimes evidently confounds lead with tin and other metals.

The late Bishop of Llandaff in melting a Celt found, that "when in a state of fusion it emitted a blue flame, and a thick white smoke, which are esteemed certain marks of zinc." In melting it a second time no flame or smoke appeared: "It was composed, I think, of copper, calamine, and tin."* But oxides of copper, with which these implements are usually coated, would give both flame and smoke in the manner described. †

Pliny expressly affirms that Aristonides made a statue of a mixture of copper and iron, which existed at Thebes in his time. Count Caylus also thought that the ancients employed iron in hardening their brazen implements ‡; and Humbolt says, "the Greeks made use of both tin and iron at the same time in hardening of copper". § This idea has been treated as absurd and impossible. But M. Vauquelin found, that implements not liable to break or yield, might be formed of 0.87 of copper, 0.03 iron, and 0.09 of tin. And there can be no question, but that iron added to copper in the proportion of about one to fifty, makes the copper less malleable, and gives it a reddish hue. The ancients probably used arsenic in making their pale-coloured brass.

As to the uses which the Celts were applied to, there are a great variety of opinions. Mr. Thorsby "supposes them to have been the heads of spears or walking staves of the civilised Britons." Mr. Hearne thinks them "chisels used by the civilised Britons, for cutting and polishing the stones they used for their works in this island." Dr. Borlase adopts Thorsby's opinion, and takes them to have been "the heads of offensive weapons, originally, indeed, of British invention and fabric; but afterwards improved and used by the principal Romans and Britons." Whitaker holds a middle opinion, and affirms them to have been the heads of light battle axes. Dr. Stukely thought they

* Chem. Essays, vol. iv. p. 58.

† Abridg. of the Royal Trans. xviii. 50.

‡ Recueil d' Antiq. Egypt. Etrusque, &c. tom i. 4to. 1761.

§ Polit. Essays, iii. 1 15.

had been used by the Druids, for cutting the mistletoe and branches of oak with.

"The Celt," says a learned writer * in the *Archæologia*, "has long been the *ignus fatuus* of antiquaries. Much has been written on its antiquity, form, material, and uses; probably we may obtain a clue respecting the latter, from a consideration of similar instruments, which have within these few years been brought into this country from the South Sea islands, many of which so much resemble our stone Celts, both in form and materials, that it is almost impossible to determine which is the ancient and which the modern. Our rude forefathers doubtless attached the Celt by thongs to the handle, in the same manner as modern savages do; and, like them, formed a most useful implement, and destructive weapon from these simple materials. If I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, I should suppose that the metal Celts in our museums were fabricated by foreign artists, and exported to this country; just as we have sent to the South Sea islands an imitation in iron of their stone hatchet, which is now become so scarce as to be deemed an object of curiosity even to the natives of those countries."

Speaking of Celts in general, Dr. George Pearson says, "they were probably instruments used by the ancient Britons, Gauls, and Celtæ;" and respecting their use he adds, "the most probable opinion is, that they were merely domestic tools. Many of the Celts are cast after the model of stone instruments, which are confessedly ancient British or Celtic chopping instruments."

In the preceding remarks I have used the word brass in its most general acceptation, meaning a mixture of copper with tin, zinc, lead, or some other mineral, in the form of an alloy. In the following concluding observations, by brass, I mean a composition of copper with zinc; by bronze, copper with tin; and iron and steel are used in their proper acceptation.

* Jos. Hartford, Esq. of Stapleton, Gloucester, vol. xiv. p. 98.

General conclusions respecting iron.

1. Meteoric stones, consisting principally of iron in a malleable state, probably led mankind to the discovery of iron from its ores. To this day large balls of iron stone found in certain parts of Sicily, are called thunderbolts, a name they have no doubt received from their similarity in substance and shape to the true aerolite.

2. The Egyptians, in the time of Moses, were well acquainted with the use of iron; and all the agricultural and mechanical implements of the Hebrews, from that age downwards, were of that metal. In the time of David they had it in the greatest plenty, as appears from the account of the immense quantity of it, which he provided for the temple, which his son built.

3. The Greeks supposed that iron was first discovered by the burning of wood upon Mount Ida, 1438 years before Christ. In the time of Homer and Hesiod it was scarce and valuable: but the account of the iron money of Lycurgus and the extracts, I have given from Herodotus and other authors, prove, that, for more than 400 years before the Christian æra, it was plentiful. The account derived from the *Poliorcetica Commentaria* of Daimachus, and contained under Lacedæmon ~~et~~ Stephanus, gives even the uses to which several kinds of iron were applied in edge tools. *

4. When Cæsar landed in Britain, all the nations of Europe enjoyed the advantages which arise from the use of steel; and the Britons had iron works of their own. It is probable too that the Egyptians or Phœnicians had made mercantile voyages to their country, more than sixteen centuries before that time. That it was known to the Phœnicians in the time of Homer, his accounts of amber and tin are unquestionable evidence. And there can be no doubt, but that the

* This passage is quoted at p. 52. Daimachus of Platea, lived before the time of Strabo. Plutarch has copied a very interesting account of a meteor that threw down stones, from a treatise, which this author left concerning religion. He also wrote something respecting India. See Solon and Publicola compared; the Life of Lysander, &c.

Greeks and Romans frequented it commonly ever after the destruction of Carthage, if not sooner: Pliny indeed says, this country was in his time, "Clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis", and he wrote before the Romans were extensively settled in the country.* And besides their knowledge of iron, and their long intercourse with foreign and civilized nations, their old established tin trade is a proof that they had been accustomed to work in mines for numerous ages; and there is no account that implements of bronze are more abundantly found in the old mines and rubbish heaps of the tin districts, than in those parts of the country which are destitute of all sorts of mines.

5. If πολλήν τε σιδῆρεν signify welding of iron, then we have a proof that malleable iron was in use in the time of Alyattes, king of Lydia.† Perhaps the different sorts of iron, which Pliny calls *Strictura*, received their name from their being malleable, "a stringendo acie", from *binding the edge*, i. e. from having the property of welding, "quod non in aliis metallis". The sentence, "mollior complexus (i. e. ferri) in nostro orbe," probably alludes to the same property. But though two pieces of common iron, or a piece of iron and steel, by using siliceous sand, unite at a white heat more readily than two pieces of steel; yet very highly cemented steel may be readily and very perfectly welded by using finely powdered potter's clay instead of sand: and the ancients were acquainted with this process, as appears from Pliny, for in describing the solders used for different sorts of metals he says, "argilla ferro".

Conclusions respecting bronze, brass, &c.

1. Before the flood, Tubal-Cain (i. e. the possessor of the earth) was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron". Does this passage, besides affording us a valuable notice in the history of the useful arts, lead us to some knowledge in antediluvian geography. After

* Plautus, in A. D. 43, was the first of the Romans after Cæsar, who came into Britain an invader, and Pliny died 35 years after that time.

† See before at p. 54.

the flood, Tubal and Mesech, sons of Japhet, settled on the borders of the Euxine Sea: In Ezekiel's time, their descendants traded to Tyre in "vessels of brass"; and by the Greeks were called Tibareni and Moschi.

2. Because Moses mentions metal mirrors and tin, I infer, that the Egyptians, before his time, were acquainted with the use of tin in hardening copper for edge-tools: consequently, that their most ancient arms and mining tools were made of bronze.

3. χαλκος and gold among the Egyptians were first made use of at Thebes, in weapons for destroying wild beasts, and in agricultural implements.* Hyginus, indeed, expressly affirms that Cadmus, the builder of Thebes, discovered *æs* at that place;† and Pliny, that he found mines of gold on Mount Pangæus, and the method of smelting it.‡ We have seen that under the first kings of Egypt, gold mines were worked with tools of χαλκος, on account of the scarcity of iron. In the table of Isis, some of the sceptres or spears have heads which very much resemble our bronze Celts in shape,§ But bronze armour was *entirely* out of use in Egypt in the time of Psammitichus, 670 years before Christ.

4. Weapons of bronze were *partly* in use in Palæstine, in the time of David, as I have shewn in the account of the armour of Goliath, and of his descendant Ishbi-benob. In Greece, about the same age, they were general, as the extracts I have given out of Homer and Hesiod decidedly

* Diod. Sic. Re. Antiq. i. 2.—In the early history of Egypt, gold appears to have been applied to the most common purposes. Many of their temples were almost wholly covered with it. A similar profusion of silver was found among the Spaniards, when the Phœnicians first visited Tartessus; and a state of society very much resembling that of the Egyptians, in the time of Isis and Osiris (i. e. about 1740 years before Christ) prevailed in Mexico and Peru, when they were first discovered, with respect to gold and silver, the use of bronze tools and weapons, the state of statuary, and especially in the use of hieroglyphics.

† Fab. 247.

‡ Lib. vii. 56.

§ See Pignorius' Mens. Isiaca Expositio, fol. 11, &c. Ed. Venet. 1605.

prove. Even the rasp with which the cheese was grated into the cup of wine, which Nestor gave to Patroclus, was of that metal.* Seven centuries before Christ, arms of bronze were worn by the Carians and Ionians; and when Herodotus wrote his history, the Massagetæ made their battle axes, and the heads of their spears and arrows of bronze: but all sorts of weapons and tools of that metal, were looked upon as antiquities in the days of Agatharcides and Pausanias; excepting in things which pertained to religious matters, in which bronze implements were employed in the heathen temples long after the Christian æra.

5. That the ancient inhabitants of Italy, in common with the people of Greece, Egypt, &c. did, at some period of their history, make their edge-tools of bronze, is sufficiently plain from the use they made of them in religious matters, and from their being frequently found in the ruins of their most ancient cities: but they were fallen into disuse in the reign of Porsenna, 500 years before Christ.† And it is probable that the nations on the western side of Europe, long before the commencement of the Christian æra, had begun to disuse brass in arms, because we know that in the time of Caius Marius, the Cimbrian cavalry wore steel cuirasses; and that the people of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, were acquainted with the art of manufacturing iron in Cæsar's time.

* Il. xi. 639.

† Since this paper was written, I have found a reference to bronze weapons in Pliny. Speaking of the medicinal qualities of iron, he says:—"Est et rubigo ipsa in remediis: et sic Telephum proditur sanasse Achilles, sive id ærea, sive ferrea cuspid fecit. Ita certe pingitur dicutens eam gladio." He doubted whether this healing rust was scraped off a bronze or an iron sword, because he knew that in the heroic age, bronze was in use in weapons. He could have had no difficulty in concluding that it was not of bronze, from any use to which that metal was applied in arms in his time; for his own accounts of iron sufficiently refute such a notion; and in the chapter from which this extract is taken, he says:—"Medecina è ferro est et alia, quam secandi," from which it is plain that surgical instruments were made of it in his time.—*Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 15. *Hygin.* 101. *Paus. Arc.* lxy. 4. *Ovid. Metam.* xiii. 172. *Trist.* v. 2, 15. *Remed. Am.* 47, &c.

6. The æra in which edge-tools of bronze were in use in Britain, cannot, perhaps, be ascertained with any degree of certainty. There can be no reason to suppose that iron was introduced here while bronze was used in Greece: or that the Germans should be acquainted with it before the Britons. But when iron became plentiful amongst the Greeks, as it unquestionably was in the time of Lycurgus, 900 years before Christ, it would certainly be cheaper amongst the Phœnicians than either copper or tin: if, therefore, they traded to Britain at that time, it would be their interest to barter steel for the goods they came for; and that of the Britons to receive it for edge-tools, in preference to copper. The disuse of bronze tools, and the introduction of iron ones into this country, was probably gradual. But from the above reasons, I would conclude that bronze began to give way to iron here, nearly as soon as it did in Greece; and, consequently, that all the Celts, spear-heads, swords, &c. found in our island, belong to an æra 500, or at least 400 years before the time of Christ, for iron then seems to have been general among all the people along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

7. The circumstance of implements similar to our Celts having been found in Herculaneum, merely proves that the scite of that city was once tenanted by men ignorant of the use of iron; and we know from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that it was founded about thirty years before the Trojan war. Also the various culinary and kitchen implements of bronze that abound in its ruins, prove nothing more than that the ancients had discovered that in warm climates copper or bronze is better adapted for such purposes than iron. I apprehend too, that nothing more can be inferred from the fact, that both Celts and undoubted Roman antiquities have been met with at Ladbrook, in the middle of the town of Old Flint, than that the Britons had occupied that situation either as a fortress or a town before the Romans settled in it.

8. That the Celts were not imported into Britain is plain, from moulds for casting them in, and pieces of crude bronze being

found in places where, from the cinders that were with them, they appeared to have been cast. If the bronze of which they made them was imported, it is probable that the people, who supplied them with it, exchanged it for tin, one of the articles of which it was composed. But it cannot be supposed that a people, whose country abounded with copper, should be ignorant of the art of working and smelting it, at a time when they were mining and manufacturing tin, lead, and iron. The æs, which Cæsar says they imported, and the χαλκομαία, which Strabo mentions, were probably nothing more than vessels of copper or bronze, which foreign merchants bartered among them for hides and metals.

9. It has been shown that the sceptre or rod of Moses, and many of the utensils of the tabernacle of the Hebrews, were of brass; but none of them of iron. The Greeks and Romans borrowed a great part of their religious worship out of Egypt, where it is probable bronze, as the first metal which assisted in the arts of civilized life, was held in religious veneration; and iron, as a more modern discovery, in religious abhorrence. We accordingly find in Hesiod, that iron was prohibited in certain religious rites; and Accennius, on the word "ahenis" in the following lines from the Æneid,

"Falcibus et messæ ad lunam quæruntur ahenis

"Pubentes herbæ, nigri cum lacte veneni,"

says: "Quia nefas id ferreis facere." Does not this custom justify the supposition that the "aurea falx," with which Pliny says the Druids, at certain seasons, cut the misletoe, is an error for "ærea falx?" and, consequently, that bronze implements were antiquated in his time in all common uses in Britain, and only employed in the religious rites of the Druids?

10. The extracts, I have given out of Homer and Aristotle, prove, that the Phœnicians were in the habit of bartering their toys and bawbles for valuable commodities in Greece and Spain; I would, therefore, infer, that they exchanged trifles of that sort amongst the Britons

for tin ; and, consequently, that the articles of jewelry, found in our most ancient tombs, are of Phœnician manufacture.

11. Dr. G. Pearson's opinion respecting the uses to which the Celts were applied, is very natural and probable. The wedge-like shape of Figs. 7, 8, 9, and 10, Plate II. evidently points out the use they might be put to in splitting wood, for the wattled houses, and osier canoes of the ancient Britons ; and, with wooden hafts, they would answer the purpose of chisels in hollowing canoes from the trunks of trees, making wooden bowls, &c. ; the strength and shape of their edge being excellently adapted for such purposes. The implements Figures 11, 12, and 13, on the same plate, were unquestionably used as gouges ; and I found some, which I made of the same shape and materials, answer that office exceedingly well, even in old oak. The two broken pieces of bronze, Fig. 14, were probably bosses of a shield : they are thick in the middle, and thin at the edges. All the spear heads and other implements are of bronze, the tin being in the several proportions from one-sixth, to one-tenth of the copper, excepting in Number 13, which is of *pot metal*, i. e. copper alloyed with about one-third of its weight of lead.

12. The sword, Plate IV. Fig. 3. found in Ewart Park, is also of bronze. From the manner in which it was found *, and the angular gashes in its edges, which appear to have been made by a weapon similar to itself, it would appear that it had been concealed immediately after an action ; for these traces of hacking might have been readily closed up with a hammer, if its owner had ever had the least leisure to repair it after they were made.

JOHN HODGSON.

* See before at p. 12.

An Extract from Memoranda respecting the Discovery of an ancient Stone Coffin, in the Church-yard of Chatton, Northumberland, by the Rev. JOSEPH COOK, of Newton Hall, Vicar of Chatton, &c.

ON the sixth of March, 1814, as the sexton of Chatton was digging a grave on the north side of the church of that place, he met with a stone about ten inches below the surface of the church-yard, and in breaking it to proceed with his work, a human skull shewed itself, lying in water, and surrounded with stone work. The cover was composed of three stones of nearly equal size, joined together with short iron cramps, embedded with lime and lead, and neatly bevelled off at the sides and ends. The shell, or excavated part of the coffin, was nearly full of water. The skull was not lying in the nich or curvature made for it; but in the place of the chest: it was nearly perfect, only the under jaw being wanting. The teeth of the upper jaw were a full set, and quite perfect. The thigh bones measured eighteen inches. All the mud was carefully filtered off from the contents of the coffin, but no relic of metal, or of any other description, was found.

At first I conjectured that this coffin, on account of its lying so near the surface, had been removed out of the church or chancel, when they were rebuilt in 1764: and the recollection that nearly two-thirds of the chancel had been excavated, under my own inspection, to the depth of nine feet, in 1804, for a vault for the family of John Wilkie, Esq. of Hetton, in this parish, without the least trace of any kind of sepulture appearing, would have assisted in confirming me in that idea, had I not satisfied myself by enquiring of people, who remembered the rebuilding of the church, that though several coffins were at that time removed out of the chancel, nobody recollected having either seen or heard of this of stone.

Some time after this discovery, I gave directions that the coffin should be raised from its bed, and placed in safety in the church; when the persons employed in the operation found, at its eastern end near the bottom, a curious ancient spur, evidently that of a warrior: it had been of steel, and was much wasted with rust. The radii of the goad or rowel measured half an inch. Nothing more was then found.

On Easter-eve, in the same year, I employed two steady men to dig and trindle the earth adjacent to the bed of the coffin. They found one small silver coin lying near the head of it, and several pieces of ornamented brass and iron work: the brass nearly decomposed to copperas, and partly to black earth, of which there was a considerable quantity. In the same place, fragments of pottery, apparently portions of an urn, were found, and also masses of putrified matter, and a great deal of baked or burnt earth. I directed the men to dig full four feet west of the coffin, and, as far as they went, portions of these articles, lying in a regular strata, were found, from two to three feet below the surface.

The penny was one of Robert Bruce's. The relics of ornamental brass and iron work, were probably the remains of the helmet of the warrior who was interred in the coffin. In 1318 Robert Bruce and his adherents had been excommunicated by the Pope, for contumacy to his Highness's messengers, and having assaulted and taken the fortress of Berwick, as well as those of the castles of Wark, Harbottle, and Mitford, and laid waste all the intervening country, * it is probable that this warrior now alluded to, fell at this juncture; and that the vicar of Chatton, on the strength of the above named papal anathema, refused sepulture to his remains, in any other part of the consecrated ground, than that of the north side of the church, the place in those times allotted, I believe, for the unhallowed interment of excommunicated unfortunates.

JOSEPH COOK.

* Smollet's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 258. Hume, vol. ii. p. 262, 372. Encyc. Brit. Art. Scotland, sec. 178, 179. 3d. ed.

An Account of the Opening of an ancient Grave near Denton, in the County of Northumberland; and some Notices respecting an Arrow Head of Flint, by Mr. EDWARD WOODHOUSE, of Scotchwood.

THE small urn and arrow-head of flint, which I presented to the Newcastle Antiquarian Society some time ago, through the medium of Mr. Stanton, were found in the under-mentioned situations.

About two years since I found the urn in the most elevated part of a field, in the occupation of my father, a little more than a quarter of a mile south west of the Roman wall, and almost in a direct line to the same point from Denton Hall, three miles west of Newcastle, in the county of Northumberland. A large stone had, for several years, obstructed the plough, and on raising it I found three enclosures, about two feet in length, and from twelve to eighteen inches in breadth; they were each composed of four flag stones set on edge, about eighteen inches deep, the uppermost edge of each stone level with the surface of the ground. The longest stones ranged south west and north east. There was a space of about twelve inches between each, filled up with tumbling stones, apparently to support the flags, and keep them upright; the same occurred at the extremities. The centre enclosure contained the urn, the bottom of which was about the same depth as the edge stones; the remaining space within was filled up with very fine soft yellow sand, almost to the surface. The urn contained a substance very much resembling (what is commonly called) shag tobacco.* The eastermost one was quite full of bones, the greatest part of them, from time, reduced to white powder. I

* The capacity of this urn is about a quart of wine measure.

found many pieces from a quarter of an inch to an inch in length. The whole were so much decayed, as to render it impossible to ascertain whether they were human or not. There was nothing found in the westernmost division, but the same kind of sand as that in which the urn was placed: it was quite of a different nature to any of the soil in the field.

To the best of my recollection the arrow was found about fifteen years ago, upon that part of Lanchester common, called the less improveable part, about a mile and a quarter west of the village of West Butsfield, in the county of Durham. It was a part of the common purchased by my father, now called Woodburn Farm. At that time it was entirely covered with the various kinds of heath natural to this island. After pairing and burning, which is generally the first operation in the cultivation of this kind of land, it was afterwards ploughed; some time after which the arrow-head was found upon the surface, washed quite clean by the previous rains. There was not the least trace, or smallest vestige of this land ever having been in cultivation before.

EDWARD WOODHOUSE.

Might not the eastern division of this arca contain the bones and ashes of a person, who had fallen in some battle; and the urn in the centre division, some manuscript roll on papyrus or bark, containing an account of the conflict in which he fell? Or perhaps more possibly, the person interred here might be of some religious order, and the contents of the urn a book on matters relative to his profession. When Numa Pompilius was buried, his body was put into one arca, or coffin of stone, and his sacred books into another. He died before Christ 670, and 485 years afterwards, when one Terentius, a writer, was improving a piece of ground, near the Janiculum, he struck upon these coffins in which the books, which were made of papyrus, were remaining in a perfect state. Pliny says, he derived this account from Cassius Hemina, a very ancient annalist, who to the question of persons who wondered, how it was possible that the books could have lasted so long, gave this reason:—"Lapidem fuisse quadratum, circiter in media arca vinctum candelis quoquò versus. In eo lapide insuper libros impositos fuisse: propterea arbitrarier eos non computruisse. Et libros cedratos fuisse: propterea arbitrarier teneas non tetigisse. In libris scripta erant," &c.—Nat. Hist. xiii. 13. See also Plutarch's Life of Numa. Valer. Max. l. i. c. i. sec. 12. and Varro quoted by S. August. de Civit. Dei.

J. H.

100

Fig. 2



Some Account of a Saxon Inscription, on a Stone found near Falstone, in the County of Northumberland, in a Letter to ROBERT SPEARMAN, Esq. of Sewing Shields, from the Rev. JAMES WOOD, Minister of the Scotch Chapel at Falstone.

THE Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, instead of a copy of the inscription which they enquire after, are heartily welcome to the stone which bears it. I will send it by the carrier as soon as I can. This expedient will, I think, answer most of the queries which accompanied your letter.

I farm about an acre of land in Hawkhope-hill, belonging to Thomas Ridley, Esq. of Park-end; it lies on the north side of the North Tyne, and was formerly divided into two patches, by a low sloping bank, overgrown with thorns and brambles. About six years ago I employed labourers to clear this bank for cultivation; and then and there the stone in question was found, about three feet from the surface. It is a kind of grey freestone, rather smooth on the one side, having the inscription on the other, about a foot long, and in the form of a bar of lead from the smelt mill. No vestiges, however, of a church, or burial-ground, at or near the place can be discerned.* The English and Scots chapels of Falstone are both within a quarter of a mile of the spot where the stone was found; but, so far as I can learn,

* Mr. Wood, in 1814, pointed out to me the field in which this stone was found; and "Ruins" are marked upon it, in Armstrong's large map of Northumberland. By the form of the surface of the back part of the stone it appears that it has been broken off a larger stone. I suppose it to have been a part of the ornament of the capital of a Saxon column. In the annexed engraving it is given in its true size. The smaller figure represents its ends.

J. H.

neither of these edifices can have any claim to antiquity, the first having been founded about 90 years ago, and the last about 110.

Within the bounds of this chapelry of Falstone and its immediate vicinity, there are some houses consisting of very thick walls, with stone vaults below, which have evidently been erected for the purpose of defending the possessors of them, and their cattle, against the depredations of the neighbouring moss-troopers. Here, too, are some remains of ancient castles; but we have no authentic account concerning them, and tradition, you know, is not to be depended upon. Wonderful stories, indeed, are told of them. Tarsset-hall, for instance, on the north side of the Tyne, and Dally-castle, on the south, may be about a mile distant; and there is, they say, between the two, a subterraneous road cut out, even below the bed of the river. Less than half a century ago vulgar superstition, it is said, has been so quick-sighted as to discern horses and chariots driving between these two old castles at midnight.

Tarsset-hall, together with a vast extent of land about Tyne-head, are reported to have been the property of the Cummins; and tradition makes up a marriage between an heiress of this domain and one of the house of Northumberland; and consequently, the estates remain to this day in the present noble family.

JAMES WOOD.



An Account of the Seal of the last Treasurer of the Augustine Monastery at Canterbury, in a Letter to the Reverend WM. TURNER, by JAMES GOMME, Esquire, of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire.

THE following is an account of a seal in my possession, which belonged to the last Treasurer of the Augustine Monastery at Canterbury.

The legend is **S' TRESORARIUS MON: SCI: AUGUSTINI: CANTUARIE:** In English—"The seal of the Treasurer of the Monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury."

In the upper compartment is the prior in the act of blessing. He has a mitre on his head as presiding over a monastery, whose superior was entitled to wear one; these sat in the House of Peers as possessing baronies, but their number does not appear so fixed as the prelates.

The crozier is turned inward to distinguish him from a bishop. Below are the arms of the priory (the same now used by the Deans

of Canterbury); but to identify in whose priorate the seal was made, and no doubt to prevent future forgeries, the letter G. is placed in the centre of the cross.

The large keys in saltier are allusive to the office of treasurer; the two figures which stand on the bottom of the keys are two monks, with musical scrolls in their hands, from which they appear to be singing. The small dots about the field of the seal are only ornaments, and to fill up. The three stars on the top and on the sides of the shield of arms, probably have some precise meaning relating to the prior, or may be parts of his own paternal armorial bearing.

The date of the seal may be nearly fixed from the following account: Thomas Goldstone was prior for twenty-four years, eight months and ten days, says his epitaph; he died Sept. 16, 1517. He was highly trusted and employed by King Henry VII. It might have been supposed the seal of the treasurer in his time; but it was most probably cut in the priorature of his successor,

Thomas Goldwell, D. D. of Canterbury College, Oxford. This respectable man was the last prior. After presiding here twenty-three years, he witnessed the dissolution of the monastery, signed the surrender, and probably with this seal. He received a small pension and died in privacy. A stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, adjoining the priory, was offered, but he refused it.

We must give the seal in the time of Goldwell instead of Goldstone, for this reason: it must naturally be supposed, that in every priorature, there would be a new seal for the treasurer of the monastery, and that when the new seal was delivered, the old one was surrendered and broken, to prevent its being used. At the dissolution, the seal could be of no possible use: it was, therefore, either flung aside as useless, or Dr. Goldwell kept it in the hopes of the religious houses being restored.

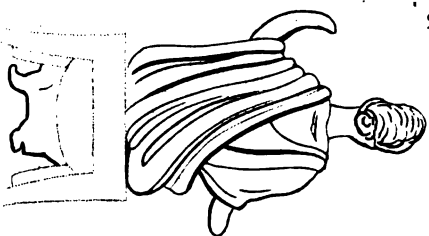
JAMES GOMME.

High Wycombe, 24th Jan. 1815.

IAM INI. FONI. VIRCO. CA. FIES
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 EXQV. IS MVNTRIBVS. NOSSECON
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 LANCEVIA. MITIVRA. P. INSITANS
 INCALIOVSMA. STRIA. SIDVS. FDI.
 DIT. LIBRA. ECOLENDVM. INDE
 CVNCTIDIDICIMVS
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 IVO. MARCVS. CAECILIVS. DO
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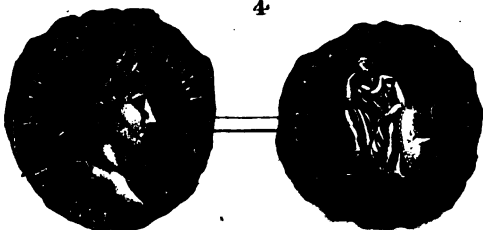
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Remarks on the Inscription to the Zodiacal Ceres, lately discovered at Caervorran, on the Roman Wall, in a Letter to the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Sec. by GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B. D. Rector of Long Newton, in the County of Durham.

IMMINET LEONI VIRGO CAELESTI SITU,
 SPICIFERA, JUSTI INVENTRIX, URBIUM CONDITRIX,
 EX QUIS MUNERIBUS NOSSE CONTIGIT DEOS;
 ERGO EADEM MATER DIVUM, PAX, VIRTUS, CERES,
 DEA SYRIA, LANCE VITAM ET JURA PENSITANS.
 IN CAELO VISUM SYRIA SIDUS EDIDIT
 LIBYÆ COLENDUM INDE CUNCTI DIDICIMUS.
 ITA INTELEXIT, NUMINE INDUCTUS TUO,
 MARCUS CAECILIUS DONATINUS MILITANS
 TRIBUNUS IN PRAEFECTO DONO PRINCIPIS.

See Plate IV. Fig. 1.

MARCUS Cæcilius, the author of the curious inscription to Ceres, lately discovered at Caervorran, on the Roman wall, identifies that goddess with the zodiacal constellation *Virgo*: and, both in this identification, and in the character which he ascribes to her, he displays an intimate acquaintance with the old theological notions of the Gentiles.

I. He pronounces her to be the corn-bearing divinity, the inventor of justice, the founder of cities, and thence the author of the worship of the deities. Such being her character, he determines her to be the same person as the Universal Mother of the Gods; the same also as

the Syrian goddess, respecting whom we have a curious treatise from the pen of Lucian; and, viewing her under her benignant aspect, as contradistinguished from that vindictive aspect which she bears under the name of *Demeter-Erinnys*, he celebrates her as being essential Peace and Virtue.

1. The old mythologists agree, that Ceres, Cybele, Venus, the Syrian goddess Derceto, the Phœnician Astarte, and the Egyptian Isis, were all one and the same deity: and this deity they describe, as comprehending within her womb all the hero-gods, and as either bearing the form of a ship or as closely connected with one. She is also said to be the same as the Universal Mother Earth: but then there was a notion, that the earth itself resembled in form a vast ship, and that it floated upon the surface of the great abyss. She is further identified with the moon; but, if we inquire in what manner, we shall still find the prevailing idea of a ship again apparent. The boat of Isis, within which the Egyptian Osiris was inclosed, exhibited the semblance of the lunar crescent: hence, with mystical indifference, he was said either to have entered into a ship, or to have entered into the moon; a mode of speech which Plutarch obviously explains to mean only that he entered into a boat shaped like the moon. Hence, as a ship was the symbol of the great mother, the lunar boat or crescent was made her astronomical representative.

2. Just the same ideas have prevailed both in Hindostan and in ancient Celtic Britain. The *Isi* and *Iswara* of the Brahmins, are plainly the *Isis* and *Isiris* of Egypt; for *Osiris*, as it is well known, was perpetually written *Isiris*. At the time of an universal deluge, *Isi* assumes the form of the ship *Argha*, and thus conveys *Iswara* over the ocean; precisely as *Isis* is acknowledged to be the same as the lunar ship *Argo*, which bore *Isiris* over the inundation of the Nile, by the Egyptians denominated *Oceanes*: and, when the waters retire, *Isi* and *Iswara* fly away in the shape of two doves. In a similar manner, the British *Ceridwen* or *Esaye* is fabled, to have once taken the form of a ship well stored with corn, and thus to have conveyed her mystic

consort over the great deep, when the whole earth was laid under water.

3. Thus the great mother was the Dea Spicifera: thus, as the inundation, with which we ever find her connected, is said to have been an act of retributive justice, she was viewed as the goddess of justice: thus, as a preserver of her allegorical children, and as a destroyer of the wicked, she was universally beheld under the double aspect of a benignant genius and of a relentless fury: and thus, since a new period was thought to have commenced with her own figurative birth from the ocean, surrounded by aquatic animals and attended by doves, she was esteemed the builder of all subsequent cities, and the institutor of all religious worship.

II. What Cæcilius says respecting the star of the Syrian goddess alludes, I conceive, to the star of Astartè or Astoreth, which is mentioned by Sanchoniatho, and of which Nonnus says so much in his curious account of the Phœnician Beroë or Berith. That poet gives just the same account of his Beroë, that Cæcilius does of his Ceres-Virgo.

Astoreth was the Virgo-Astrèa of the Greeks: and, however contradictory may be the two characters of a *virgin*, and an *universal mother of the hero-gods*, these two apparently discordant characters were, nevertheless, perpetually applied by the old mythologists to the same person. The goddess of the lunar ship was said to be the parent both of all the gods, and even of the whole world: but then she was often likewise said to have born her offspring without the co-operation of any husband. When her character was viewed under this aspect, she was, of course, esteemed a virgin.

III. But it is time to consider her elevation to the sphere in the zodiacal catasterism of *Virgo*.

1. This constellation was variously thought to represent Themis, or Astrèa, or Ceres, as we find from the old writers on poetical astronomy: but all these were one and the same character, the goddess of the ship; who, in allusion to her elevation to the sphere, was feigned

by the poets to have flown from earth to heaven, at the precise epoch of the deluge.

The arrangement of the present constellation, and indeed of the whole zodiac, must inevitably be ascribed to the most remote antiquity: for, since the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Hindoos, use the very same zodiacal signs, and place them in the very same consecutive order; such an arbitrary coincidence cannot be ascribed to mere chance. They plainly must have all derived their zodiac from a common origin: and, since the only connection (with which we are acquainted) of the Hindoos with the Egyptians, is through the mean of the Indo-Scythic Shepherd-Kings, and since the Greeks were doubly connected with Hindostan and Egypt, through the means of the Pelasgi or Palli from the north-east, and of the Danai and Cadmians from the south-east; their common zodiac must have been constructed prior to the emigration of the Palli Shepherds from Upper India. Now, as the shepherds continued several years in the region of Babylonia, where they established themselves about the close of the first Assyrian dynasty, and as they entered Egypt six years before the birth of Abraham, we shall find ourselves compelled to ascribe the common zodiac of Greece and Egypt and Hindostan, to an era considerably prior to the birth of that patriarch. But this will bring us so near to the dispersion from Babel, that we have great reason to believe the zodiac to have been originally constructed by the astronomical Chaldéans in the time of Nimrod. Such an opinion will lead us to assign the rise of idolatry to the same era: for, the zodiac being altogether founded upon the prevailing system of paganism, the system itself must have existed *prior* to the construction of the zodiac. Accordingly, we find the same system established in every quarter of the globe, which could not have happened, unless the system itself had been excogitated *previous* to the dispersion.

2. With respect to the particular constellation of Virgo, the Greeks, who supposed it to represent their Astréa or Ceres-Demeter, depicted the female figure as a woman bearing ears of corn and a blazing lamp,

the latter in reference to the Eleusinian mysteries: the Egyptians, who pronounced it to represent their Isis, whom all the old mythologists identify with Ceres, depicted the female, as a woman holding ears of corn and the sistrum: and the Hindoos, who still claim it as the zodiacal representative of their Isi, depict the same female figure, as a woman holding ears of corn and floating on a raft, agreeably to the notions which they entertain of their navicular goddess, in the character of the genius of the ship Argha. This last I take to be the primeval and authentic form of the pictured constellation: and, as the ship of Ceres and of Isis was no less familiar to the Greeks and the Egyptians, than the ship of Isi to the Hindoos, I feel strongly persuaded, that the two former nations once painted the constellation in the same manner.

3. I may add, that the ram of the sphere is Ammon or Dacsha: the bull, Isiris, or Iswara, or Molech, or Zeus: the lion, Mithras: the piscine goat or capricorn, Egi-Pan: the water-bearer, the Dea Multimammia: the fishes, the companions of the Syrian goddess, when she was born from the floating egg, surmounted by doves; or, when the constellation is depicted as a woman ending in the tail of a fish, the Syrian goddess Derceto herself: and so forth. It is not unworthy of notice, that some supposed aquarius to be Deucalion, because he lived at the time of the flood.

In making these remarks, I have thought it superfluous to give any references; because the subject is treated so very much at large in my *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, with which I find the inscription of Cæcilius to Ceres in the most perfect unison.

G. S. FABER.

Long Newton, Nov. 3, 1816.

*An Enquiry into the Antiquity of an ancient Entrenchment, called
WARDLEY, in the Parish of Jarrow, and County of Durham, by the
Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Sec.*

WARDLEY, in the parish of Jarrow, is a place of considerable antiquity, and probably derives its name from a deep fosse or entrenchment, which surrounds a plot of ground, on which, in former times, the priors and monks of Durham had a camera or summer residence.

The dimensions of the entrenchment are as follow, viz.:—A, Plate ~~III~~.V. the area within the ditches, containing six acres and thirty-five perches.

BBB, the ditch, which is every where very perfect, excepting at p, where it has been filled up, and a road leads across it.

C o c m, a mound of earth on the outside of the ditch, which is still very perfect.

The length of the sides of the entrenchment is, from a to b, 149 feet; from b to c, 99, and c to d, 112—together, 211; from d to e, 143; and from e to a, 197 feet.

The breadth of the ditch from a to f, is 11 feet; from g to h, 13; from b to i, $8\frac{1}{2}$; from c to k, 9; from l to m, 8; and from n to o, 13. Its depth at b i is 6 feet; and a bridge crosses it at c k, l m.

The form and size of this entrenchment, and its contiguity to the Leam Lane, a part of the Roman way, called Wreken Dyke, which runs between Lanchester and the stations at Jarrow and South Shields, are in favour of its Roman origin; but I have not been able to learn, that any Roman antiquities were ever found in it. It is certain that no traces of Roman masonry exist within its area. If, therefore, it was ever a camp of that people, it was one of the kind which they called *Æstiva*, from their being occupied only in summer.

Ro

Embankment near
Dyke Neck. Originally
30 Feet
High

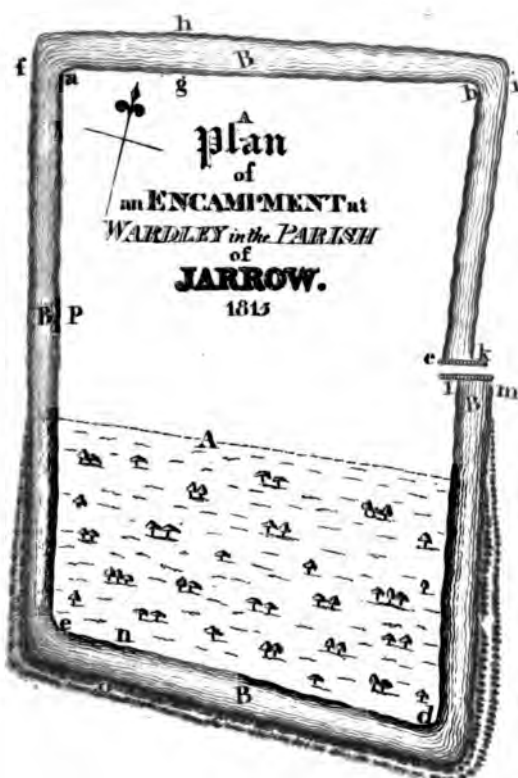
Secondary Aqueduct supposed to save the Leakage
of the original
Aqueduct

Road from Durham
Cottage

Road from Wolsingham
Cottage

THO^S. WHITE ESQ^R. JR

Willow Woodlands
near Appon Burn



In the year 995, the bishops and monks of Cuneacester, on account of the ravages of the Danes, removed the body of St. Cuthbert from that place to Rippon. "But peace being established in three or four months, as the monks were returning from the former place with the sacred body, and had got into a place called Werdelau, in the eastern country, near to Durham, the carriage, on which the shrine containing the holy remains was carried, became restive and immoveable. All additional assistance was unavailing; to every new accession of strength it continued immoveable as a mountain, plainly shewing, that the incorruptible body refused to be taken to the place where it had been before. But the monks were at a loss whither they should carry it; for the place on which they then were, was in the middle of a plain and uninhabitable. The Bishop, therefore, addressing the people, commanded them to seek directions from heaven, for their future conduct by fasting, watchings, and prayers, during three days. The event was, that it was revealed to a monk called Eadmer, that the body should be removed to Durham, which was accordingly done."*

I am aware that some objections may be started against identifying Wardley with the place where this occurrence is said to have happened.

1. Because the Werdelau of Simeon, or as it is in Bedford's edition,† Wredelau, was "prope Dunelmum ad orientalem plagam"; and Wardley is about fourteen miles north east of Durham, and about seven in the same direction from Chester-le-Street.

2. The word *law*, when it makes a part of the names of places, always means a hill or eminence; and in this signification we find it commonly applied to conical hills, tumuli, fortified grounds, and the places where public assemblies were anciently holden.

The first objections may perhaps yield to the following considerations. The "plaga" in which Wardley is situated, does, in a certain degree, lie to the east of Durham; and "prope" being a relative term, Wardley, and especially the district between the Tyne and

* Sym. Dunelm. inter Hist. Anglic. Scrip. Antiq. col. 27.

† P. 140.

Wear in which it is situated, may be said to be near to Durham, in comparison with their distance from Rippon.

The monks engaged in this transaction, were undetermined among themselves where they should settle; and may, therefore, be supposed to have wandered out of the way of their former residence at Chester-le-Street, in quest of some other. It is certain that the ecclesiastics of Durham fled to Lindisfarne, in 1069, by the way of Jarrow, Bedlington, &c.; and both Wardley and Chester-le-Street are in a right line between Durham and Jarrow. Is it not a probable conjecture, that when the "*vehiculum, quo sacri corporis theca ferebatur,*" became restive, the monks were on their way to their ancient residence at Lindisfarne; but differing in their councils about the propriety of proceeding thither, the majority determined to turn back to the strong post on Dun-holm? In this conjecture, the true reason, I think, is observable, why we are told that the holy remains refused to be carried to the place "*ubi prius fuerat.*"

To the second objection it may be answered, that, if *law* in this place be admitted as the true reading, and allowed to signify a hill, then Simeon's own description of the place is in contradiction with its name; for they came to a place, "*qui Werdelau dicitur;*" and "*ubi tunc fuerunt, in medio scilicet campo, locus erat inhabitabilis;*" which, with the reading and etymology alluded to, would be as much as to say, "the place they came to was called *Warded-hill*, and that hill was a plain." I apprehend that Simeon wrote *Werdle*, a word which means "guarded or fortified field;" and in that signification answers well to Wardley, which is situated in the middle of a very extensive plain; and in a place, which it is probable might at that time be very properly called *inhabitabilis*, by a fraternity of monks searching for a residence; for the ground adjoining it to the south is still wet and marshy, and was formerly covered with a sort of lake, called in old records "*le White Mere.*"

That Wardley was the spot, where this occurrence happened, is further evident, from some copies of Simeon having "*Werdele:*" and

Leland in a note to an extract from one of the monastic authors, not named, *De Episcopis Lindisfarnensis and Dunelmensis*, col. v. ii. p. 330, says: "Nunc Wedle ubi ædes olim monachis recreandi gratiâ concessæ." That there were "ædes recreandi," or rooms of recreation for the monks of Durham at Wardley, there is no doubt; a circumstance which evidently shews that Wedle, in Leland's note, is a mere literal mistake for Werdle.

Some authors * have supposed that Weredun-law, a hill on the south side of the Wear, and a few miles from Sunderland, is the place which Simeon calls Werdelau. But I conceive, that *Weredun* is a Celtic name, signifying Werehill; and that *law*, a word of Saxon origin, has been added to it, by a people ignorant that *dun* and *law* are synonyma. But besides the probability that Warden-law went under the same appellation in the time of Simeon that it does now, though it may be said to be east from Durham, and to be "locus inhabitabilis," it is not "in medio campo:" it has no traces of fortification about it to justify the supposition that Werdelau was its ancient name, and that *dun* is a corruption of modern insertion: and it is certain that the monks of Durham never had any "ædes recreandi" upon it.

Hutchinson, in his *History of Durham*, contends, that Werdelau was at Maiden-castle, a fortified hill between Shinkliff and Durham: and that place certainly answers well to its being near to and east of Durham. But where is the evidence of that place ever having been called Werdelau? It was not "locus inhabitabilis," nor "in medio campo;" nor ever had upon it any "ædes recreandi."

The following document, extracted from the Register of Bishop Kellowe shews, that Wardley was a place of some importance in the year 1313, in which William de Tanfield, on account of age and infirmity, retired from his situation as prior of Durham, and in lieu of that accepted of the celle of Jarrow, with the privilege of residing in the manor-house of Wardley.

* See Hutch. Hist. of Durham, vol. i. p. 79. vol. ii. p. 3, &c.; Bedford's ed. of Simeon Dunelm. &c.

“ Omnibus &c, Ric'us p'missione divina &c. V'ra nov'it univ'sitas q'd accedentib. ad nos ap'd Middelham die mercur. p'x. post festu. s'c'e trinitatis anno d'ni Mill'i'o CCC^{mo}. tercio decimo dilectis filiis d'no W. Priore & fratribus Galfr'o de Burdon Supprior, Thoma de Aldewode Will'o de Giseburne et Thoma de Hessewell monachis et procurator' monasterii Dunelm. &c. d'n's Will'us proponens coram nob. se non posse cure & regimini d'c'i Monasterii sibi co'missis. commode vacare nec onera inde sibi incu'bencia prout convenit suportare p'p't. corp'-alem imbecilitatem suā infirmitate & senio confractam qua notabiliter est gravatus cure regimini & officio cessit exp'se & ea in manib' n'ris pure, sponte, et simp'l'r resignavit devote supplicans, &c. Ad ip'ius igitur sustentacionem Cellam de Jarowe sicut mag'ri ejusdem loci antiquitus h'ere consuev'unt cu. suis p'tin. cu. stauro & aliis bonis ejusd'm ta. mobilib. q'm se moventibus & pensione. seu annuu. redditu. dece. librar. argenti qui consuev'it solvi mon. p'd'co p. mag'ros qui pro temp'e fue'int d'c'e celle. Et decimas garbar. de villis de Heworth sup'iori & inf'iori auct'e & potestate nob. in hac p'te attributis de exp'sso consensu sup'ioris & conventus, &c. Tenend. & h'end. &c. Solvendo inde ad s'c'm d'c'i mon. sex marc. st'lingor. ad festa. S'c'i Martini & pent. &c. Et si d'c'us Will's cessavit in soluc'o'e d'c'ar' sex marcar' p. octo dies post terminos assignatos extunc liceat bursario Dunolm. levare id quod a retro est de redditib. et exitib. molendinor. de Jarowe sine impedimento &c. Volumus eciam q'd h'eat aisiam-enta Domor. man'ii de Wardeley ad inh'itandum & morandu' ibidem suis su'ptib. p. suo libito voluntatis nich. de exitib. man'ii receptur.— Et q'd h'eat focale p. aula & cam'a sua tam ap'd Jarowe quam Wardeley de Bosco de Heworth & fagotas p. pistrina de bosco ceduo succrescente in le Heghenigh r'onabilit'r p. visum forestarii ibidem. De carbonib. p. coquina & bracina suis su'ptib. sibi faciat p'videri. Ordinamus insuper q'd h'eat setu. unu. vel. duos monachos de d'c'o mon. p. suo voluntate eligendos de consensu prioris, &c. Ordinamus eciam q'd p'd'cus d'n's Will's faciat deservire d'c'e celle laudabiliter in divinis videl't cu. fu'it absens a d'c'a cella infra Ep'atu. tu. per capell'os seculares vel monachos unu. vel plures prout duxerit eligendos. Set cu.

contingat eu. agere ex Ep'atu saltem p. unu. monachu. d'c'e celle faciat deserviri & quod liceat sibi p. voluntate sua mora. facere in Ep'atu v'l extra sine impedimento v'l calumpnia prior. Dunelm. vel alt'uis cujusq. Et si ad mon. declinare volu'it p. q'nque vel sex dies suis sumptib. moratur. Hostelar mon. s' faciat decentē cameram assignari. Et p'd'cus Will'us p'd'cam cellam de Jarowe cu. p'tin'ciis suis in adeo bono statu demittet vel meliori sicut eam recepit (vi majori per hostiles incursus & casib. fortuitis duntaxat exceptis). Et si contingat (q'd. absit) p'd'c'am cellam de Jarowe et alia bona sibi superius assignata p. hostiles incursus Scottorum vel p. co'em guerram destrui et consumi ita q'd non posit de residuo bonor. aliquantulum sustentari volumus & ordinamus q'd h'eat una. Cam'a. infra cepta. mon. p'd'c'i Dunelm. & congrua. sustentac'o'em p. se et uno socio uno velletto & quatuor garc'onib. jux. mon. facultates, &c. In quor. &c. Dat. ap'd Middelham die & anno sup'd'c'is Et pont. n'ri tercio."

It is further worthy of remark, that Wardley is a manor within the manor of Jarrow, which, with all its appendages, was granted to the Monastery of Jarrow about the time of the Conquest; and soon afterwards to the Priory of Durham. It is still leased under the Dean and Chapter of Durham, to whom it was granted by King Henry the Eighth, May 16, 1561: and in 1567, by an act of that body, its tythes were annexed to the revenues of the Seventh Prebendary.

At present there are no buildings within the area of the entrenchment which bear any marks of antiquity, the scite of the ancient mansion house being occupied by a modern farm house and farm offices. The fish ponds are still distinctly visible, in the wood, on its south side; and the esculent (still common in meadow ground in the neighbourhood of old castles, villages, and monasteries), the *polygonum bistorta* of Linnæus, and called "Easter-month-gions," in many parts of England, grows on the scite of the old garden, in the north-east corner of the entrenchment.

JOHN HODGSON.

Observations on an ancient Aqueduct, and certain Heaps of Iron Scoria, in the Parish of Lanchester, in the County of Durham, by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

PTOLOMY, the geographer, is generally supposed to have lived in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius; but as he makes no mention of the Vallum of Hadrian, I suspect that his work was published before that Emperor's campaign in Britain. He enumerates nine towns of the Brigantes, the most northern one of which was Epiacum; and that next to it Vinovia, which is generally allowed to be the Roman name of Binchester.

In his map both these towns are placed much too far to the west, as appears from the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Richard of Cirencester's description of Britain.

Antonine places Vindomora nine miles from Corstopitum or Corbridge, and nineteen miles from Vinovia, according to which distances, Vindomora would appear to have been at Ebchester, in the county of Durham: and Richard, in his fifth iter, disposes of these places in the same manner; but in his third, he places Epiacum eighteen miles from Vinovia, and nine from the Wall. Epiacum and Vindomora, according to his authority, would, therefore, seem to have been names of the same place. Probably, however, Vindomora was at Lanchester, and Epiacum at Ebchester. But as none of these names occur in the Notitia Imperii, and no inscriptions have been found to throw the least light either upon their history or their geography, it is still very doubtful where the true situation of Epiacum was, and whether Vindomora was at Ebchester or Lanchester. That the greater number of places enumerated in the Notitia, as under the command of

the Duke of Britain, were situated either along the line of the wall, or at no great distance to the south of it, there can, I think, be no question; and though the Longovicum of that authority may, on several accounts, be supposed to have been at Lanchester, and the Derwentio at Ebbchester, from that place being situated on the river Derwent, yet these suppositions have nothing of the nature of proof for their support.

The extensive ruins of the station at Lanchester, and especially of its suburbs, show that it was once a place of considerable importance. One tablet, found in a field on the east side of it, commemorates the building of a bath and a basilica; and another, discovered within the area of its wall, records the repairing of its principia and armamentaria in the time of Gordian the Third; a circumstance which pretty clearly proves that it was occupied soon after the Romans penetrated into Britain. For, supposing these repairs to have been made in the third year of the reign of Gordian, or A. D. 240, and that the principia and armamentaria had been erected by Agricola in the winter of the year 80, they were only 160 years old at the time of their being re-built, and that work had become necessary on account of their having "conlapsa"—fallen together.

The ancient importance of this station is further shewn, by the great labour which has been employed in making the aqueducts that lead to it. The plan of these works, which I have been enabled to lay before the Society, was copied from a survey made several years since, by Mr. Fenwick of Dipton, and Mr. White of Woodlands. Both its lines are in many places, and especially in Mr. White's woods, as visible as in the day they were made. The bottom of it, on account of its course lying over sandy ground, has been puddled; and the upper part of the northern branch has, of late years, been employed in conveying water to the fish ponds at Woodlands. The earth embankment at the head of the channel of this branch, where two small rivulets fall into one, partly remains: it has been rudely faced with stone, and raised to the height of thirty feet, in order to obtain level for throwing the water into the channel of the aqueduct. The place

where the southern branch has received its water from the brook, called Rippon-burn, is obliterated; but the embankments made near the house at Cold-Pike-Hill, for receiving the water of certain springs, and preserving level to the station, are very distinct. The reservoir was in a field at the south-west corner of the station, and a conduit that appeared near the bath is supposed to have led to it. Several wells have, from time to time, been discovered here by labourers, on the outside of the walls, and there is a plentiful spring at a short distance from the place where the bath stood.

Between the lines of this aqueduct, there are two remarkable heaps of iron Scoria. One of them on the west side of Mr. White's plantations, near the Rippon-burn; and the other at a place called Cold Knuckles, about a quarter of a mile south from the head of the northern branch of the aqueduct. That at Cold Knuckles contains many thousand tons of slag: but there was a still larger heap about a mile further to the west, the greater part of which was, some years ago, employed in making a part of the turnpike road, which leads from Bishop Auckland to Corbridge. Similar heaps have been found at a place called Goldhill, on Houseley-burn, a little above Healey-field; at Nuckton Burn, about three miles above Blanchland; at Bursh-blades, near Tantovy; and at Norwood, near Ravensworth Castle.

In several parts of the parish of Lanchester I have frequently observed that the surface of the earth is exceedingly irregular, with small pits, which the country people call *delfs*, no doubt from *delving* or digging; and that these places are invariably attended with a stratum of iron stone not far from the surface. Similar appearances may be seen in one of the plantations belonging to the Earl of Bute, on a farm called the Delfs, on the south side of Pontop Pike, and on Tanfield Moor. But in what age either them or the heaps of Scoria were formed, I know of no evidence on which a probable conjecture can be formed, unless the following account can be admitted as testimony.

When the ruins of a great part of the station at Lanchester, and

especially of its suburbs, were raised about forty years ago, the great numbers of hearths, cinders, and slaking troughs that were found, and that resembled those of our smitheries, induced the neighbouring people to conclude that the Romans were "a tribe of smiths." If, indeed, there were not reason to believe that the armamentaria were common to every station, and consequently of no greater importance at one place than another, there is sufficient evidence that places under that name were not only used as depots for arms in the Roman age, but as workshops for military purposes. "*Nunc operibus aspiciendis tempus dabat, quæque in officinis, quæque in armamentario ac navalibus fabrorum multitudo plurima in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat.*" * If, however, it could be shown that the armamentaria mentioned in the inscription found here, were connected with the numerous hearths I have just mentioned, and that these had been used by smiths, we should not only obtain a clue to the history of the heaps of scoria but obtain good ground of evidence that Lanchester, while the Romans were in Britain, was both famous for its iron works, and distinguished for an extensive manufactory of arms.

Some of the slag at Goldhill is blueish, and partly of a glassy nature. The flat pieces at Cold Knuckles are very black, dense, and heavy; and consist of sulphur, combined with small proportions of iron, carbon, and silex: the amorphous pieces are very light, porous, and black. The earth under the heaps has been much burnt: and pieces of charcoal still remain in them.

JOHN HODGSON.

* Livy, lib. 26. c. 51. See also Seneca de Tranquil. Animi. Val. Max. viii. c. 12. Cic. de Orat. i. xiv. Plin. vii. c. 37. In the three last places armamentarium means a dock-yard.

A Description of a Silver Ring found on Towton Moor, in the County of York, in 1770, and presented by the Rev. WILLIAM TURNER to the Society, in a Letter to Mr. ADAMSON, Secretary.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, quum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabrâ rubigine pila,
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

Geor. Lib. I. 493.

DEAR SIR,

THE application of these beautiful lines of Virgil, to the objects of our association, by your Brother Secretary, in his very appropriate introductory address, reminded me that I possessed a relic of one of the severest contests which ever took place among our countrymen, the famous battle of Towton, which terminated the civil war between the Houses of York and Lancaster. It was fought on Palm Sunday, 1461; the Lancastrian's had 60,000 engaged, the Yorkists 40,000; victory, however, declared in favour of the latter, and Rapin states, from the Chronicles of Hall and Holinshed, that 36,776 were left dead upon the field; among whom were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Lords Dacres and Wells, Sir John Nevil, and many other distinguished persons.

When I was a boy (I think about 1770), Towton Moor (an extensive district of open-field between Saxton and Towton, north-east of Aberford, near Ferrybridge,) was inclosed by act of Parliament. Many traces of the effects of this dreadful battle were discovered in every allotment, affording an ample commentary upon the lines at the head

of this letter. Among others, the enclosed ring, which I beg leave to offer to the acceptance of the Society, was ploughed up, and brought for sale by the countryman who found it, to a silversmith in Wakefield, of whom my father purchased it. It is, you will perceive, a plain silver hoop, bearing on its outside the following inscription, *the . nazarenus . rex . judeorum . i. e.*

Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.

Whether, from the nature of the inscription, it may be fair to argue, that it belonged to some ecclesiastical person, I know not. It is well known, that many connected with the clerical profession did not scruple, in these times of disorder, to engage personally in military affairs.—But it is by no means improbable, that laymen might choose to put themselves under the protection of some such sacred inscription as this. That it was adopted and worn, probably by some eminent person, as an amulet or charm, which it was hoped might preserve its wearer, is, at least, very probable. That it failed of its expected effect, the circumstances, in which it was found, furnish a sufficient evidence.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM TURNER.

Percy-street, August 4, 1813,

An Account of a Saxon Coin of Ecgfrith, King of Northumberland, presented to the Society by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

See Plate VI. Fig. H.

ECGFRITH began to reign in 670. He succeeded his father, Oswy, in the kingdom of Bernicia, and the people of Deira revolting against their Sovereign, Alfred bestowed the crown of their country on Ecgfrith, who thus obtained the sovereignty of all Northumberland. He was a warlike prince; severely chastised the Picts and Mercians for invading his dominions; in 684 sent an army to conquer Ireland; but after sacriliciously destroying the monasteries there, returned home, beaten, disgraced, and ruined. His attempts to enlarge his dominions, amongst the Picts, were equally unsuccessful: they drew him into defiles amongst their hills and mosses, surrounded him, and, in an effort to save himself by cutting a passage through their ranks, slew him at Dumbarton on the 25th of May, 685.

An inscription in the Wall of the Church of Jarrow says, that that edifice was dedicated to St. Paul on the 8th of the Kalends of May, in the 15th year of this Monarch. Monkwearmouth Monastery, the elder sister of Jarrow, was founded in 669; and Ecgfrith endowed them both.

Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, founder of Hexham Church, and a man of great activity of mind, and notoriety in church history, was peculiarly obnoxious to this Sovereign, who deposed him, and deprived him of his dignities during the greater part of his reign.

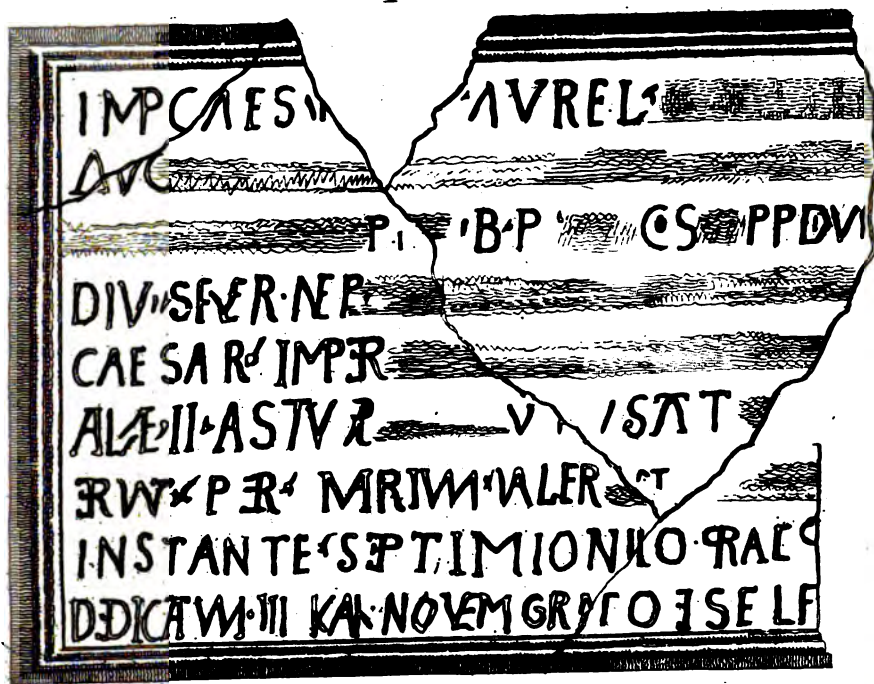
Benedict Biscop, the founder of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, according to Bede, was his favourite minister.

This coin, in being of copper, neatly minted, and bearing the name of its Sovereign, has the usual character of Saxo-Northumbrian coins;

E



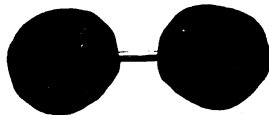
F



G



H



I



but it differs from them in having a device and motto on its reverse, instead of the moneyer's name.

The reverse, I suppose to be a cross, surrounded by a glory, and the motto LUX. How this device is applicable to Ecgfrith's character, is not easy to be perceived. But it clearly enough points out the glorious light which the religion of the cross is calculated to throw upon the world. It was probably intended as a compliment to Ecgfrith about the commencement of his reign, when the christian religion was in a flourishing and popular state.

Ecgfrith's name has been usually written Ecgfrid, by modern authors. The line of the inscription at Jarrow which mentions him is:—ANNO XV EGFRIDI REG. The Venerable Bede writes Ecgfridus; and Alfred, in his translation of Bede's history, has *Ecƿfrīð*, *Ecƿfrīfe*, and *Ecƿfrēþ*; and on this coin it is ECGFRID.

This coin, with a few others, was discovered in Heworth chapel yard, in a small earthen vessel, which I intend presenting to this Society, after I have gratified a few of my friends with inspecting it. All the coins, as far as I have cleared them of rust, are of the same King, and from the same die.

They were found in a part of the chapel yard, which had never been employed as burial ground; and, I think, that the claim of this chapel, to be nearly contemporary with Jarrow, is, by this discovery, pretty strongly established.

Of the rarity of the coin, I think I may safely remark, that none other of the same monarch, or of several of his successors, have hitherto been found. Indeed, according to Pinkerton, it is upwards of 150 years earlier than any other Saxo-Northumbrian coin known to be in existence.

JOHN HODGSON.

An Account of an Inscription on Fallowfield Fell, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

See Plate VI. Fig. E.

ON the middle of Fallowfield Fell, in the Parish of St. Johnlee, Northumberland, there is a long ridge of very hard sandstone rocks, which runs along the brow of a slightly elevated hill, in a direction nearly north and south, and fronting the east. While on a visit at Mr. Tulip's, of Fallowfield, in July 1813, Mr. Atkinson, of Carr-hill, informed me that on the face of one of these rocks, which the country people there call the *Written Cragg*, he had once observed an inscription, and obligingly offered to conduct me to it. It was readily found, and I then made the sketch of it, which stands at the head of this paper. It is about three furlongs south of the Roman Wall, and the ground about it is covered with ferns and heath. The inscription it bears is : *Petra Flavi Carantini*—the Cragg of Flavius Carantinus.—The letters are deep and very legible ; and from their form, appear to have been cut about the latter end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century.

As far as I am acquainted, it has never been published. It is not, indeed, of much importance. Perhaps no historical inference can be drawn from it. Curiosity and resistance to the attacks of time may be all that it can boast. It, however, records to the present day, the name attached to these craggs, by a people, who, for many ages, denominated themselves the conquerors of the world: but whether it was imposed on them, to point them out as the property of this Flavius Carantinus,

to record some great achievement of him, to shew the place where he fell in battle, or was inscribed to gratify some whim or impulse of vanity by himself, are conjectures too minute, and connected with a period of time too distant, to render their discovery either useful or probable.

JOHN HODGSON.

An Account of an Inscription discovered at Walwick Chesters, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

See Plate VI. Fig. F.

THE tablet, which bears this inscription, is broken into three pieces, and imperfect on the right side. The remains of it measures thirty-eight inches in length, and thirty-two inches in breadth. It was discovered some years since, at Walwick Chesters, in Northumberland; and is, at present, in the possession of Nathaniel Clayton, Esq. of that place. The letters, which remain upon it, are very perfect, and the parts, which are blank, have been designedly erased. In its present mutilated condition, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty, the particular purpose for which it was erected; but it is interesting, on account of the facts it contains, and the inferences deducible from it.

It mentions an Emperor of Rome, who was grandson of Severus; the second Ala of the Astures; a person of the name of Marius Valerius; the presence of a prefect called Septimus Nilus; and refers to something that, having been injured by time, had been rebuilt, and dedicated on the third of the Kalends of November, when Gratus and Seleucus were Consuls.

Heliogabalus was grandson of Mæsa, the sister of Severus, and styled himself DIVI SEVERI NEPOS. He began to reign in 218, and was slain on the tenth of March, 222. Gratus and Seleucus were Consuls in 221: this inscription was, therefore, made on the thirtieth of October, in that year, and refers to Heliogabalus. After the death of an Emperor, who was hated, his name and titles were often erased from public monuments, a practice which accounts for the mutilations in this inscription.

The *Notitia Imperii*, a record, which mentions transactions which occurred after the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the First, and, consequently, after 375, enumerates the names of eighteen cities *per lineam Valli*; and particularizes the rank of the officers, and the names of the several divisions of the Roman army, by which they were garrisoned. In the sixth of these cities, which it calls *Cilurnum*, and which answers to Walwick Chesters, it places the prefect of the second wing of the Astures (*Prefectus Alæ secundæ Asturum Cilurno*). The coincidence, therefore, between this inscription and the *Notitia*, clearly proves that the ancient name of Walwick Chesters, was *Cilurnum*. A similar agreement exists between the *Notitia* and inscriptions found at the stations at Benwell, Halton Chesters, Carrowbrugh, House Steads, Little Chesters, Burdoswald, and other stations on the line of the Wall.

The Astures were a people of Spain: the first *Ala* of them was quartered at Benwell, and on an inscription belonging to that place, is called *Ala prima Hispanorum Asturum*, and is coupled with the name of Gordian. An inscription, discovered at *Æsica*, or Great Chesters, on the Wall, also mentions the second cohort of the Astures; but the *Notitia* says *cohors prima Asturum Æsica*.

The *Alæ* were auxiliary cavalry, and each of them consisted of four or five hundred horse, and were divided into ten *turmæ* or troops.

I conceive that the term *vetustate* referred to some edifice that had fallen into decay. The first *Ala* of the Astures rebuilt a temple at Benwell in the time of Gordian; and the second cohort of the same people re-edified a ruined granary, from the ground, at Great Chesters, in the time of Alexander Severus. The Emperor Gordian also rebuilt certain decayed barracks and magazines at Lanchester, and I apprehend that the inscription in the crypt at Hexham, which has *HORR* . . . upon it, relates to the repairs of some granary. It is worthy of remark that all these repairs were done nearly about the same time; and, I think, the term *vetustate conlapsa*, fallen together by time, implies that these edifices had acquired a very considerable age at the time they were rebuilt.

Perhaps the repairs, which this inscription records, were done by some part of the second Ala of the Astures, the name of which was in the plural number; and the four last lines, when perfect, stood in some such manner as the following. The titles and offices of the Emperor may be seen in several inscriptions in Gruter, Reinesius, and other authors.

ALÆ. II. ASTVR. TEMPLVM. VETVSTATE. CONLAPSUM. RESTITV
ERVNT. PER. MARIVM. VALERIVM. LEG. AVG. PRPR.
INSTANTE. SEPTIMIO. NILO. PRAEF. ALÆ. II. ASTVR.
DEDICATVM. III. KAL. NOVEM. GRATO. ET. SELEVCO COSS.

In Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, and in Gough's *Camden*, there are copies of two inscriptions of this kind, found at Lanchester, in both of which, the names of the propretor and the prefect, are in this mode of phraseology. I have inserted *templum* to agree with *dedicatum*, supposing that the flattery of the times had complimented this execrable Emperor and Priest of the Sun with some title of divinity, and dedicated a temple to him.

JOHN HODGSON.

An Account of two Bronze Figures discovered at the Roman Station near the Village of Benwell, in the County of Northumberland, and presented by Mr. JOHN STANTON to the Society.

EXTRACTS from Mr. Stanton's letter to the Society, which accompanied these figures:—The Priapus "was found by me, August 17th, 1813, when in company with our Treasurer, near the bottom of the inner ditch, on the east side of the station. It was so completely enveloped in verdigrise that no part of the figure was discernible, excepting where the legs were broken off by the stroke of the mattock. We sought for the feet, but without success. The back part of the head was corroded away; and the face was so much eaten with rust, that I did not attempt to recover it. The left hand, which broke off in attempting to clean it, was raised up, and the two first fingers pointed a little higher than the shoulders. The metal of this figure, when wet, was much softer than the coating of rust which enveloped it.

The female Lar (see Plate IV. Fig. 2) was found by a mason in 1812, near the bottom of the outer ditch, in a line due east from the place where the Priapus was found. This figure has been protected from the action of rust by a coat of gilding, a part of which still remains: it is, therefore, less corroded than the former: they were both restored by the graver. The seat upon which I have placed it is ideal, but adapted to its posture. Whether, in its original state, it was placed on something of the same kind, and which of the household deities it was intended to represent, I leave to the conjectures and determination of persons better skilled in these matters than myself."

JOHN STANTON.

*An Account of an ancient Camp, in the County of Cumberland, in a
Letter from Mr. G. A. DICKSON, to the Secretaries.*

See Plate VII.

SIRS,

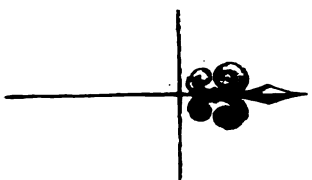
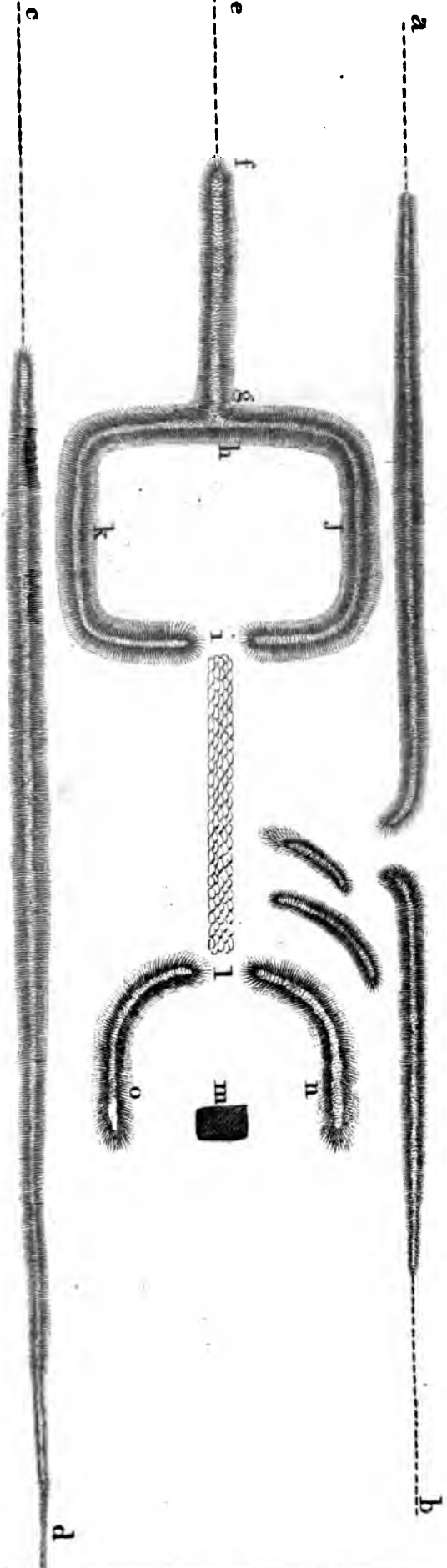
IN the beginning of last month, when on an excursion into Cumberland, I observed, in crossing over a wild and bleak common in the parish of West Ward, an appearance of entrenchments, which, on examining it, I found to be one of the most singular remains of antiquity I have yet met with. I believe it has not been noticed by any writer on the antiquities of Cumberland. Its dimensions are as follow :—

	<i>Paces.</i>		<i>Paces.</i>
a b	225	j k	40
c d	265	i l	50
e f	30	l m	25
f g	45	n o	30
h i	28	b d	60

The line i l is a causeway; and I conceive that the semicircular place was a temple, and the great stone at m, the altar.

This place goes by different names among the country people, being by some called "HEIGHT RIGG CAMP," by others "STONE RAISE CAMP TRENCHES." At half a mile distance, and in sight of this spot, is a tumulus; and nearly the same distance further, four very large tumuli, placed so as to form a square: they are surrounded by several others of smaller size.

G. A. DICKSON.



An Account of a Brass Coin of the Emperor HADRIAN, in a Letter from Mr. J. ADAMSON, Secretary, to the Rev. J. HODGSON, Secretary.

See Plate IV. Fig. 4.

I SEND you, for the inspection of the Society, a coin of the Emperor Hadrian, in middle brass, which was found many years ago in one of the principal Roman stations in Northumberland; and which, I think, from the local connection between the Society and the history of Hadrian, will be interesting to the members.

The coin bears the following legend:—

Obv. IMP. CAESAR. TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG.

Rev. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. III. S.C.

and at the feet of the figure BRITANNIA. Eckhell, in his *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, thus describes it:—

BRITANNIA. S. C. mulier sedens, dextero pede rupibus imposito;
sinistra caput sustentans d. hastam gerit, cubito
in prægrandem clypeum innixo.

All the Roman coins which relate to Britain, and which form a curious historical series, are of considerable rarity, especially those on which the province is personated. Some, which I have had an opportunity of inspecting, have been in a very indifferent state of preservation, which circumstance gives additional value to that in my possession, which, although struck nearly 1700 years ago, and probably to commemorate the arrival of the Emperor in Britain, may

be said to be nearly perfect. The coin is covered with a rich case of green patina.

An imperfect coin, similar to mine, is mentioned as having been in Mr. Thoresby's Museum, and is thus noticed:—

“ TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG.

“ POT. COS. III. S. C. *exergue* BRITANNIA.

“ The Emperor Hadrian came into the Island An. 123, and having reduced the Britains, built the noted wall to separate this part from Scotland. Upon this very choice medal Britain is represented sitting upon a shield, with a spear in her hand, as that in Speed's Chron. p. 96. I am sorry I could not learn where it was found; but the man who paid it in his fee-farm rents to the Lord of the Manor had slipped away before I perceived it, that he might not be obliged to change it.” *

In the first volume of Camden, in the plate of Roman coins relating to Britain, there is an ill-executed engraving of a coin differing from mine in the following particulars only, viz. the figure is the same, excepting a trifling difference in the shield, which difference, and the variety in the legend, are probably owing to a mistake by the person who copied it. It reads,

Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAJANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG.

Rev. PONT. MAX. TR. P. COS. III.

JOHN ADAMSON.

Dec. 12, 1816.

* See Whitaker's edition of Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*—Catalogue of Antiquities.



Sumptibus Joannis Trotter Breckett

An Account of the Seal of the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew, at Newcastle upon Tyne, in a Letter from Mr. J. T. BROCKETT, to the Council of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.

See Plate VIII.

HAVING lately been so fortunate as to add to my collection of ancient seals, an uncommonly fine impression of that of the Nunnery of Saint Bartholomew, the Apostle, in this town, I thought it too great a curiosity to remain unknown; and, therefore, caused an engraving to be made of it by Mr. Lambert. At first I struck off fifty impressions, for private distribution amongst my friends, intending at a future period, when leisure permits, to present them with a detailed account of the nunnery itself. In the mean time I beg your acceptance of two hundred copies of the engraving to accompany your Transactions. I am not aware of the existence of any other impression of the seal so perfect, Mr. Brand having been unable to obtain more than a mere fragment; and that fragment is either unfaithfully executed, or must be a different seal altogether. *See 2nd Plate of Seals, No. 3, in Brand's History of Newcastle, Vol. II. p. 184.*

The seal appears to have been formerly appendant to some deed. It is in red wax, and represents Saint Bartholomew under a canopy lifting up his right hand, and holding in his left the knife with which he was flayed alive.

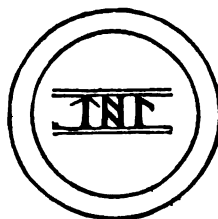
It gives me great satisfaction to say, in conclusion, that the artist I employed has executed his work in a very correct and elegant manner.

JOHN TROTTER BROCKETT,

Albion-Place, 20th Dec. 1816.

T

De Annulo aureo Runicis Characteribus signato, nuper in Anglia invento, et pluribus ejusdem Generis, brevis Dissertatio, Auctore FINNO MAGNUSON, Professore Havniensi, &c. &c. &c. ad JOHANNEM HODGSON, Sec. A.S. Pontis Ælii, per literas missa.



FRIDRICH RICHARD FRIEDRICH

INVENTUS est hoc anno (1818), et Junio mense currente in prato palustri *King's Moor* (regia palude) dicto, prope *Carleolum*, Cumbriae metropolin, annulus aureus, in ephemeridibus pluribus Magnae Britanniae accurate descriptus et delineatus. Characteres Runicos vel Gothicos, quos annulus ille sculptos exhibet, sic explicare conatus sum. Lineam totam extraneam ita lego:

FRIDRICH RICHARD FRIEDRICH

ORMR IUFL TRIGI A RIDONG TOKTNOSON A

vel

ORKR

intraneam autem: TNT i. e.

TOL

Singula verba sic illustranda putavi:

FRAR: Literae hae indubiae sunt, excepta sola **A**. Valet sæpissime in Runis Scandinavicis **R** finale, quam artifex hic inter duas alias ejusdam speciei literas vix repræsentare voluit. Puto ipsum scripsisse **A** pro **Ψ**, **M** nempe Runico pro Scandinavorum more. Sic dictio erit **ORMR**, et nomen inter eos valde frequentissime usurpatur.

In Runis Germanicis **A** interdum legendum est **K**, et verbum nostrum, si istud alphabethon sequi malimus, **ORKR**.

INFT JUFL vel **JOFL**. Scandinavorum veteri sermone, secundum orthographicas eorum regulas post Latinas literas receptas: **JARL** vel **JALL**. Observandum igitur quod **Ð** vel **U** sæpe in Runicis ponatur pro **N** vel **O**, sed Dani rurales pronuntient *a* ut *o* lene ex. gr. *Faar* vel *For* pro scripto *Far*. **RL** vel **LL** in voce **JARL** peculiari pronuntiationis modo profertur, quasi dixeris **JAFL**, quod Cimbris Juticis certe sonuerit **JOFL** et erit ideo nostri **JOFL** vel **JUFL**.*

Vox ista Isl. **JARL**, **JALL**; A.-S. *Eorl*; Angl. *Earl*; Cambro-Brit. *jarll*; Alaman. *Erl*, comitis dignitatem denotavit. Finnis et Lapponibus *Jallo* sonat egregius, strenuus; alii vocem deducere tentaverunt a Græco *ελλη*, emitto, cum comites regum sæpe fuerint emissarii.

TRIKI **TRIGI**, Isl. *triggi*, *tryggi*, *trijggvi*, i. e. fidelis, fidus, cognominis modo positum. **K** abbreviatur pro **IK** vel **IG**, cum ambae literae in Runicis eodem caractere (**V**) repræsententur. In literis Celto-Ibericis **U** sæpe adhibetur pro Latinorum **C**, Græcorum **K**.

Ð Isl. **A** (pronuntiatum **AU**) hic adverbium loci, *in* vel *de*.

RIDONH, **RIDONH**, vel **VIBONH** aut **VIDONH**, cum prima litera ambigua duci potuerit. Cæterum ultima **X** (proprie **H**) sæpe in Runis Scandinavicis et Germanicis ponitur pro **C** vel **G**, uti **H** ipsum in veteri Teutonum sermone. Lego igitur *Ridong*, *Redong* vel *Readong*, uti *Reading* vel *Reding* (adhuc usitatum), vel *Vidang* (campus sylvestris), *Vidáng* (planities ampla), *Veidang* (regio venatoria). Nuper nobis innotuit quod Normanni Neustriam occupantes, nova nomina e

* Mercatores Dani in Islandia indigenarum nomina propria rescribentes sic pro *Biorn* vel *Biaurn* scribunt *Biodn*, *Biodin*; *Hadla*, *Hatla*, *Hafla*, *Harla* pro *Halla*, &c.

propria lingua deducta, locis ibi sitis imposuerint; Danos primos Angliae partes subjugantes idem fecisse, non est adeo improbabile.*

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑ Toktnoson vel Toktoson, Toktnason (Toctae vel Toctonis filius). Litera quarta e duabus composita videtur (↑ et ↑) nisi sculptoris mendo lineola obliqua characteri ↑ affixa, adscribenda sit.

× A: possidet. Verbum ab Islandis adhuc frequenter adhibitum, cum res varias sibi proprias eo designare soleant post primarias priorum nominum literas; ex. gr. G. J. S. A. (*Grimr Jons Son a*). *Grimus Jonæ filius possidet*—annulum vel aliud quantivis pretii utensile.

Interior annuli pars continet singulam voculam ↑↑↑ (instrumentum, res fabricata, cimelium).

Sonus et sensus verborum inscriptionis e mea sententia sic igitur evadent.

(K)

ORMR JUFL (JOLL, Jall) TRIG(g)I TOKNOSON U(a) RIDONG

Ormus	} Comes	fidus	Toknæ filius	de	Ridong
vel					
Orkus.					

A TOL.

possidet cimelium (hocce.)

Cum quæramus quis iste annuli possessor fuerit, imprimis observari debet nominis ipsius ambigua lectio. Nam,

I. Si legamus ORKR, i. e. ORIKR, OIRIKR, recentioribus EYRIKR (Ericus), hosce ejusdem nominis heroes in Anglia notos novimus:

(*) *Orrik (Orik, Ork)*, filius Horsii, celebris Anglo-Saxonum ducis, dicitur in Northumbria cum Frothone 5^{to} bellum gessisse circa annum 462.

(♯) *Orkr, Orc* vel *Oric*, fuit *Canuti* magni *Thegn* (*Thegen, Thaynus, Thanus*), i. e. nobilis miles, comiti dignitate proximus, et baronibus

* Nolo lectori reticere quod hæc et proxime antecedens vox sic legi queant, **NR** **I** ↑ ↑ ↑ ×. UR (de) IDONH vel IDONG, IDANG, EIDANG, tunc similiter, ut puto, nomen loci proprium, possessoris nativi vel addicti indicantes.

inferioris notae præstantior. Vernacula lingua se Danus hicce Jarlum, vel comitem, vocare sane potuit. Fuit anno 1023 oeconomus dicti Regis, qui ei tunc donavit prædium, postea monasterium *Abbotsbury* in provincia Dorsetensi. Existit de eo diploma circa villam *Portisham* ab anno 1024. Invenimus præterea comitem Danum nomine *Orguil* vel *Orkuil*, certe quidem a librariis corrupto, cæsum cum quatuor aliis ad oppidum *Ashdown*, in *Essexia*, tempore *Alfredi* Regis anno 871.

II. Accepta lectione *Ormr*, hi ejusdem nominis principes nobis in Magnae Britanniae vetustiore historia occurrunt:

(*) *Ormus*, comes (*jall*), de Anglia dicitur eduxisse viraginem Gothicam *Hervaram* juniorem. Vixit e conjectura *Suhmii** circa annum 540.

(β) *Ormus*, Anglus, fertur sub Danorum Rege *Haraldo Hilditanno* militavisse in prælio Bravallensi anno 735.

(γ) *Ormus*, comes (*jarl*) *Northumbriae* et *Deirae*, floruit annis 941 et 42. Ejus filia nupta fuit *Amlafo*, Ostmannorum in Hibernia Regi. Cum *Northumbria* *Cumbriae* vicina sit, non est a vero absimile, quod annulus noster *Ormo* huic comiti proprius fuerit.

Certum alias est quod Dani et Norvegi multa et longinqua bella gesserunt in *Northumbria* et *Cumbria*. Sic hujus metropolin *Carleolum* circa annum 875 Dani penitus destruxere.†

Mirandum sane duco, quod ante aliquot, forte multos, annos, alter aureus annulus, partem præcedentis inscriptionis continens, in Magna Britannia inventus sit. Vidit eum ibi, vel saltem inscriptionis delineationem nactus est, vir celeberrimus et doctissimus *Grimus Johnson Thorkelin*, Regi Daniae a consiliis status *PP*. Descriptio annuli et aliae de ejus origine et fati annotationes perierunt, cum ipsius præstantissima bibliotheca et musæo in flammis obsidionis *Havniensis*, anno 1807; miserat tamen illustrissimo nostro optimati *Johanni de Bulow*, ordinis elephantini equiti aurato, &c. inscriptionis tale apographum:

* *History of Denmark*, I. 383.

† *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, &c. Ed. 2. 1814. I. 86.

FRAR INFꝛ Tꝛ ARI RIÞNꝛ XIFNCTNCTNCTNCT
ORMR IUFL Tꝛ RIA RIDONG HLOSTOSOTNOL

vel

ORKR

vel

Ormr jarl tri(ggi) a Ridong, &c. (vel ur Ridong, &c. vide supra.)

Pro annuli primi ✠ hic habet Ð, nempe G in Runis-saxonicis secundum *Hickesium*. Vox vel voces *Hlostosotnol* aut *Glostosotnol* mihi sunt penitus ignotæ; num Cambrico, Gaëlico vel Saxonico sermoni adscribendæ sint, doctiores philologi videant.

Sic amborum annulorum possessor unus et idem fuisse videtur. Quomodo id fieri posset illustrare tentabo. Annuli aurei, incriptionibus aut figuris signati, a veteribus literarum, vel chartarum, nostrarum loco usitabantur. Sic sponsus mulieri pro sponsionis, dominus servo pro manumissionis, documento annulum dedit, ut cætera taceam. Tesserae loco annuli sæpe adhibiti sunt, et plenipotentiarium, e legitimo mandato agentem, probabant; sic ex. gr. *Leges Baivar. Tit. 2, § 14*, "Si quis jussionem ducis sui contemserit, vel signum quale visus fuerit Dux transmittere, aut annulum aut sigillum, si neglexerit, venire," &c. Annulus pro literis missus in veterrimis Scandorum poematibus occurrit.* Præterea Reges et Duces eorum vasallis, militibus et poetis suis, annulos aureos frequenter donavere. Necesse igitur fuit, ut idem princeps multos tales possideret.

Minime nobis in hac dissertatione omittendus est *tertius aureus annulus*, descriptus et depictus ab *Hickesio* (in *Thesaur. Antt. I. xiii. Tab. 17.*) Signatus est Runis et literis Anglo-saxonicis vel inscriptione hacce:—

* *Edda Antiquior*, Tom II. Havn. 1818, pp. 287. 376. 271. pp. unde ex alia traditione, Runae ipsi, vel tabulae affixae, incisae, vel comitantes fuisse videntur. In antiquis Monumentis Medo-Persicis videmus *annulum* pro imperii symbolo positum. Vid. *Hoeckii* de illis librum, ed. Goettingæ, 1818. 4to. Tab. 2. pag. 31, sq.

ƿEDRED ƿEC A HEANRED ƿEC A GROF.

Odred } MEC A { HEUNRED
vel } MEC A { HEANRED
EDRED } MEC A { HEANRED }

i. e. *Edred me possidet, Heanred me cælavit.*

Hickes sic legit:—

Ædred meca Heanred mec a groft.

Ædredus conjux Henredæ me cælavit; i. e. cælari jussit.

Ultimus inscriptionis character nulli literæ similis apparet, et distinctionis tantummodo signum esse videtur. Verba indubitanter veteri Danorum (hodierno Islandorum) sermone composita sunt, et grammaticis ejus regulis optime conveniunt. *Edred* et *Heanred* sunt nomina propria virilia Anglo-saxonico more expressa; illud eidem genti frequens; hoc autem Scandinavis *Hunrautr* sonuit.

An Account of an Inscription found near Binchester, in the County of Durham, communicated to MR. ADAMSON, Secretary, by PH. ORKNEY SKENE, Esq.



**Diis Manibus Sacrum. Nemmontanus Decius vixit annos quadraginta ;
Nemmontanus Sanctus frater et coheredes ex testamento fecerunt.**

DEAR SIR,

Durham, July 1st, 1819.

THE stone, of which I send you this drawing, was observed a few weeks since by my brother William and myself, on the road from Binchester to Byer's Green. It forms part of a raised footway adjoining to a foot bridge over the small stream called the Bell Burn, about a quarter of a mile north of the station at Binchester. The length of the stone is four feet, and its breadth one foot and seven inches.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your very obedient humble servant,

PH. ORKNEY SKENE.

To Mr. Adamson.

Papers relative to the Plot in the North, in 1663, extracted by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Sec. from the 31st Volume of the Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts, presented by the Rev. GEORGE WASEY, M. A. to the Hon. and Right Rev. SHUTE, LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM, and by him presented, in 1817, to the Library founded by Bishop Cousin, at Durham.

*** "Upon the whole it is pretty clear from these letters (*Miscellanea Aulica*) that a rising had been concerted; but then it is as clear, that it ought rather to have excited the scorn than the apprehensions of Government; that like all the rest of these wretched projects, it had been countenanced by none but levellers, disbanded officers, and desperate enthusiasts, all of them persons of mean condition, without parts, power, credit, or interest, and that the very zeal of the people was sufficient to secure the peace of the Government, without the assistance of mercenary foreigners or additional penal laws."

Rev. of the Reigns of K. Ch. II, &c. Vol. 1. P. 98.

My L^d.

WE received yo^r L^{ds} Letters, and haue sent coppies of them to the Lord Widdrington: we haue likewise sent to such Dep^t Leu^s as are neare vs to meete to-morrow, and we shall presently secure all suspected persons in our county. We give yo^r L^{ds} our hartie thanks for yo^r intelligence, and humbly begg to heare from yo^r L^{ds}, as yo^r L^{ds} shall see occation. We are, My Lord,

Yo^r L^{ds} humble Searvants,

JAMES OGLE.

Ra. JEN'ISON.

The 9th of August, 63.

*For the Right Reverend Father in God John Lord
Bishopp of Durham, this with speed.*

MY LORD,

IN order to y^e preservac'on of the quiett of this place, we have issued out warrants for examining and securing all persons here that cannot give a good account of their busenes. If we can discover any matters worthy yo^r Lo^{dps} acquaintance, we shall give you speedy notice, desir- the same favour from yo^r Lo^d if there be occasion, and in all things requisite we shall be very diligent, who are, my Lord, y^r Lo^{dps} humble servants,

FRANCIS ANDERSON, Maior.

JO. CLARKE.

RALPH CARR.

HEN. BRABANT.

Newcastle, 9 Aug. 63.

*To the Right Reverend Father in God John Lord
Bishopp of Durham, this with speed.*

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Examination of Thomas Marshall, of Wallis Walls, in the said County, Yeoman, taken before vs, the 12 Day of Nouemb'r, in the xv Year of his Ma'ties Reigne, 1663.*

WHO being examined upon his oath saith, that he knows Thomas Harrison, of Stockley, mentioned in y^e information, and that he was at his this exam' house, and lodged there on Symon and Jude day at night, and being askt if he did not tell the s'd Thomas Harrison that seuerall of his neighbo^r had been from home wth arms, and that they were newly returned, saith that he knowes of none that were abroad at that tyme, save onely one Joseph Hopper, that lives about Ebchester bridge end, but wheather he had armes wth him or not, or where he was when he was from home he saith he knows not, and being further examined, he saith that one Thomas Richardson, of Crooke Oake, came into this exa' yard, and tould him that several men neighbo^r that liu'd there-

abouts were abroad wth ther armes, and they suspectedt they were ingaidged in this plott.

THOMAS ✕ MARSHALL,
His Mark.

Capt' cora' nobis
HENRY WIDDRINGTON.
JAMES OGLE.
RA. JEN'ISON.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Examinac'on of Thos. Richardson, of Crookt Oaks, taken vpo' oath the 16 Day of Nov. 1663, before us.*

BEING examined, what neighbo^r & who they were that he informed Tho^s Marshall were abroad wth theire armes, & y^t were suspected to be in a plott; confesseth that he told Thos^s Marshall that John Wilkinson told him that Joseph Hopp' was and had beene abroad wth his horse and armes, and that there were some men vpo' Horsebacke wth swords seene rydding by, over at Ebchester and Shotley bridge this exam^t knoweth not whither, & that he the s^d Jo. Wilkinson told this exam^t that he feared the s^d Joseph Hopp' was wth them, and further confesseth not.

Taken and sworn before vs
HENRY WIDDRINGTON.
JAMES OGLE.
RA. JEN'ISON.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Exam' of Joseph Hopp' of Ebchesterbridgend taken vpo' oath before vs the 16th day Nou' 1663.*

BEEING exam^d where he was for a long time together, when neither his wife nor any of his neighbo^r knew where he was confesseth and saith

that he was abroad five weeks together & at Ireland to see some friends he has ther & that he would not acqu^e his wife herewith for he knew she would be vnwilling to let him go, & saith also y^t he knew not of any neighbo^r that was abroad, & it is made app['] to us by Jeronimiah Clark whose husband lives in Ireland, y^t he this exam^t was wth her in Ireland & they returned fro' thence together: & further confesseth nott: taken before us HENRY WIDDRINGTON, JAMES OGLE, RA. JEN'ISON.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Informatio' of John Wilkeson of Laings Looneing, in the Countie afores'd, taken before vs the 27. day of Novemb'r, 1663.*

WHO vpon his oath saith, that about ffowre or ffive weekes since, being at Black-hedley, and being in company wth one George Proud of Ebchester Bridgend, he heard him say that he had heard that seuerall persons in Wearicshire, were gathered together, and some there askeing of them what was the reason of there meeting together, they answered that if any came to oppose them, they would give an answer, and afterwards they did disperse, but how long they continued together this informer saith he did not inquire, neather doth he know of any that was there present, or that was ingaidgd in the late horid plott, and discoursing further wth him, he heard the s^d Proud say, that some men (and as he best remembers he spoke of two onely) came ouer there ffoard wth broad swords, and this informer demanding of him who they were, he tould him this informer, that it mattered not who they were, for there would be more heard afterwards, and further can'ott informe.

JOHN WILKINSON.

Cap^t cor nobis.

JAMES OGLE.

RA. JEN'ISON.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Informatio' of George Proud of Ebchester-bridge-end, webster, taken before vs the first day of Decemb'r, 1668.*

WHO saith vpon his oath, that being in Company wth one John Surtis of the high field, about five or six weekes since, at a place called the hollins in the Countie afores^d he heard the s^d Surtis say, that he was neare vnto wearickshire, and heard some therabouts say, that there was two troupps of horse that weere in armes there, and the country people demaunding of them, what ther occasi^{on} was to draw together, they said if any had a mind to oppose them, they would lett them know what they mett for, but the Country thinking to rise vpon them, they presently disperst, and being asktt if he this informer knew of any that was at that meeting, saith he knew nothing more than what he heard Surtis say, and being further asktt what these two p[']sons weare (wth John Wilkinson did informe) that this George Proud should say came ouer there ffoard with broad swords, he saith that he had bene abroad sheareing, and comeing home, his daughter tould him that ther had bene two men wth broad swords, in there neighbor Hoppers house that afternoone, or some part that day, and that one of them was like to Joseph Hopper, wth had bene away from home for some tyme before, and therupon this informer went in to inquire wheather the s^d Hopper was one of them or not, but Hoppers wife replyd her husband was not comd home; neather did she know who they two weare, for they onely came in there and lightted a pipe of Tobacko, and went ther wayes and further saith nott.

GEORGE ✕ PROUD
His Mark.

Cap^r cor nobis
JAMES OGLE
RA. JEN'ISON.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*The Examinatiⁿ of John Suirtis of highfield in the County aforesaid taken before vs the 4. day of Decemb'r 1663.*

WHO being examined saith, that being in werickshire about six weeks agoe and being a suittor to a young weoman, whome since that tyme he haith married, going into the house of one Christopher Browne of Newbottle in the county of Durham, and asking of him, what newes he heard, the s^d Browne tould him, that there was towards two troopes of horse drawn together in werickshire, but they knew not w^t they were, and that the constable George Wilson was going to raise the trained bands to see what kynd of men these were & further saith not.

JOHN ✕ SUIRTIS

His mark.

Capt' cor' nobis
JAMES OGLE
RA. JEN'ISON.

MY L^d.

WE received an informatioⁿ of Thomas Harrisons from the hands of the Maior of Newcastle, w^{ch} was taken in yo^r County, concerning some w^{ch} us, w^{ch} were suspected to be in the laite plott, and haueing made the best inquiry concerning it that we could (as yo^a may perceiue by the informations herewth sent yo^r L^dshipp) and now haueing traic'd it as farr as wee can in o^r County, and fynding the remainder of it, to be lodged wth Christopher Browne of Newbottle, in yo^r County, we leaue the further progress therein to yo^r L^dshipp's consideration, and desire to remayne

My L^d

Yo^r L^dshipp's most humble seru^{nt}

HENRY WIDDRINGTON

JAMES OGLE

RA. JEN'ISON.

Newcastle the 15th
of Decemb^r (63)

Calenders of the Prisoners confined in the High Castle in Newcastle upon Tyne, at the Assizes for Northumberland in the years 1628 and 1629. Communicated by the REV. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

. This article is an extract from Sir Thomas Swinburne's account of his Sherifalty in the years 1628 and 1629; and is taken from a volume of the Mickleton Manuscripts.

NORTHUMBR' 1628.

His Ma'ties Jus-
tices of peace

THE kalender of all the prisoners now remayneing in his Ma'ties gaole of High Castle for ffelony and other capitall offences deliu'ed vnto S^r James Whitlock and S^r Henry Yellverton his ma'ties Judges of this assizes houlden att Newcastle this xijth daye of August an^o R. R's Caroli Anglie &c. quarto an^o dn'i 1628.

Sir William Car-
naby K^t.

1. William Wawgh for suspec'on of the stealeing of John Gilpatrick's purse wth v^l x^s in it as by mittimus the ixth of August 1623 appeareth and reprived before iudgement.

S^r John Dela-
vale K^t.

2. John Lumley charged wth the felonious breakeing of the house of Richard Browne and for takeing out of the same certeine linnyng & woollen clothes as by mittimus the xxvijth of July 1624 appeareth and reprived after iudgement.

Comit by his
Ma^{ties} Justices
att the Sessions
att Morpeth 5to
Julij Ao' 3^o R. R.
Caroli

3, 4, 5, 6. William Thirlewall gent. Thomas Bates & David Donoldson yeomen & Jane Grey spinster. All of them committ for refuseing to take the oath of allegiance.

Morpeth att Ses-
sion the xvijth
Januarij 1627.

7, 8. Thomas Beadnell of Lemedon gent. and George Beadnell of the same Esq^r stand indicted for the murder of Lewees Hedley yeom^r commit by his Ma^{ties} Justices of peace att the sessions.

S^r John Clau-
ing K^t.

9. James Marshall late of Whitside laborer charged wth the murdering of George Marshall his own child wth he hath confessed.

Com^r by Mr Jo.
Delavale coroner
the xith of May
1628.

10. Edward Downeinges late of Rederiff in the County of Kent marriner who by inquisic^{on} taken before John Delavale gent. one of the coroners of this County is found guilty of manslaughter for the felonious killing of Thomas Nayler.

S^r Jo. Delavale
K^t. viij^o die Oc-
tobr^r 1627.

11. Mathew Hall late of the towne & County of Newcastle vpon Tyne laborer, charged wth suspec^{on} of the felonious stealing of one red lyard mare from Anthony Woodman of Elswick.

S^r John Dela-
vale knight the
25th of August
1627.

12. John Reed of Kelloburne w^{hin} this county yeom^r taken by S^r John Delavale knight and charged wth the felonious stealing of xxx^{ix} sheepe the goodes of Edward Delavale of Alnewick castle gen^r and wth the felonious stealeing of fflower kyne the goodes of Rob^te Dalton of Wetsled w^{hin} the same County gent^r. And likewise charged wth the felonious stealeing of ffive kyne and one stott, the goodes of John Johnson of Prestick, and for

diverse felonies committed w^hin the County of Yorke and Bishoprick of Durham.

S^r John Fenwick
k^t 27^o Augusti
1627

The said John Reed charged w^h the stealing of a dunn mare from Newham, the goodes of Robert Fenwick of the same towne for the w^{ch} he standeth indicted.

Cuthb^{te} Ridley
Clerk 15 of Sep-
temb^r.

13. Roger. Dodd late of the Shawe charged wth the felonious stealeing of a black mare the prop^r goodes of Cuthbert Hearon Esq^r.

Cuthb^{te} Ridley,
Clerk the 18 of
June 1628.

14. Thomas Currey of the Hight in the same County charged wth the felonious stealeing of a Dunn mare and a black pyled gray foale the proper goodes of Lyonell Shipley of the Snape: The said Thomas Curry hath confessed he had the same mare and foale, and sould them to another in the yeare of our Lord 1624.

Cuthbert Ridley
27^o Junij 1628.

15. Nicholas Robson of Newcastle upon Tyne tayler suspesiously taken wth a lyard, or roaned horse, rydeing vpon w^hout brydle or sadle, and carrying him as he saieth to one John Nixon of the Parke in *Newcastle dale in the County of Cumberland a man of evill fame and behaviour as by mitt^r appeareth.

* so.

Tho. Middleton
Esq^r 7^o Julij
1628.

16. Gerrard Charleton taken for the felonious stealeing of a black mare the goodes and Chattles of Thomas Middleton Esq^r as by mitt^r appeareth.

S^r. John Clau-
ing k^t the second
of August 1627.

17. John Brewes of Black Heddon charged wth the stealeing of xxxviiij sheepe the goodes and Chattells of S^r John Selby knight. And lykewise charged wth his felonious escape out of his ma^{tie}s prison in the High Castle

being the common gaole for this county as appeareth by mittimus.

S^r Will^m Mus-
champ k^t 17^o
die Decemb^r
1627.

18. James Walker of Lucker in the same county laborer charged wth the felonious stealing of fflower sheepe the goodes of Nicholas Lynsey of Lucker aforesaid, one of w^{ch} sheepe is found wth him and vpon his examinaⁿ-con he hath confessed the stealeing thereof as appeareth by Mittimus: 1627.

S^r John Delavale
k^t secundo Maij
1628.

19. Henry Robson laborer for the felonious stealeing of one ewe and one sheepe hogg the goodes of Edward Selby and John Forster of Newlandes w^{hin} this County w^{ch} in his examinacⁿ he hath confessed as by mitt^r appeareth.

S^r Will^m Mus-
champ k^t 5^{to} die
Julij 1628.

20. George Bell late of Headon in the p^{ish} of Newton and countye of Northumb^land charged wth the felonious stealeing of certeine sheepe of S^r John Selbyes k^t. and John Strothers Esq^r for w^{ch} sev^lall felonyes he was formerly taken and escaped from the officers of Kyllham as by mittimus appeareth.

Cuthbert Ridley
Clerk 19^o Julij
1628.

21. Jane Robson wife of Mathew Robson of Leeplish in the libertyes of Tyndale and County of Northumb^land, charged wth the felonious killing of Mabell Robson the wife of George Robson of Leeplish aforesaid his brother in lawe by sorcery or witchcraft as by mittimus &c. appeareth.

Removed by his
ma^{ties} writt vnder
the sele of
the Lo: chief
Justice of the K.

22. Christopher Dennyson charged wth the murder of John Hudspeth the sonne of Thomas Hudspeth of Corbrigg w^{hin} this County yeom^r & removed from his

bench, and the
hand of Judge
Whitlock Judge
of assizes for this
County.

ma^{tes} gaole att Westchester by vertue of his Ma^{tes} writt directed to the Sheriffe of the said County dated the ij^o Julij an^o quarto R. R's Caroli nunc Anglie &c. for w^{ch} fact he fledd thither.

Removed by writt
vt sup'a

23. Edward Dennyson charged wth the said murder and removed from his ma^{tes} gaole att Carlyle there kept for his ma^{tes} County of Cumberland into w^{ch} county he fled and there was appr'hended, removed hither by vertue of his ma^{tes} writt dated vt sup'a.

Cuthbert Hearon
Esq^r.

24. George Coxon of Rukeing charged w^h the stealeing of six sheepe one whereof is challenged w^h him. The goodes of Tho: Browne of Ramshawe.

Cuthbert Hearon
Esq^r.

25. Gerard Coxon of Rukeing al's Hint charged wth the felonious receipt of Rob'te Ellet al's Hobb of Cockshawe scottishman a great theefe who at that tyme was suspected wth the stealeing of a gray mare the goodes of Williā Dowges of Dowges burne.

S^r John Clau-
ing k't. 24^{to} Julij
1628.

26. George Maughlin of Hartside charged w^h the murthering of one Raiph Browne of Hartside as by mittimus appeareth.

S^r John Clau-
ing k't. 24^{to} Julij
1628.

27. Bartram Mauglin charged wth the felonious murthering and killing of the said Raiph Browne as appeareth by his mittimus.

Morpeth xvjth of
July 1628

28. Michaell Elsden of the Mote committ from the last Sessions w^{thout} either baile or mainprise being taken vpon a capias awarded from the last Sessions vpon an indictment for felony viz^t for stealing of Cattle.

By the bench

29. William Hall of Reavenscleugh.

T. SWINBURN vic'. com'. North'b'r.

NORTHUMBER: 1628.—*The Judent from Mr Gilby Clerk of the said Assizes, 1628.*

DELIB'ACIO Gaole d'ni Regis com' sui Northumbr' tent' apud castrum Novi Castri sup' Tinam in com' p'dict' die Mercurij decimo tercio die Augusti Anno Regni d'ni n'ri Caroli dei gr'a Anglie Scotie Franc' et Hib'nie Regis fidei defensor' &c. quarto, Coram Jacobo Whitlock mil' vno Justiciar' dicti d'ni regis coram ip'o rege tenend' assign' et Henrico Yelverton mil' vno Justiciar' dict' d'ni Regis de Banco: Justiciar' ad assis' et gen'al' gaole delib'ac'onem in Com' p'dict', necnon ad diu'sa felon' transgr' et al' malefa'ta in eod' com' p'petrat' audiend' et terminand': Ac ad gaolā illā de prisonar' in ea existen' lib'and' assign' &c.

No'ia eor' qui habent Judiciu' ad suspend' p' Collum.

Christopher Dennyson
Edr'us Dennyson
Ambrosius Dennyson
Nicholas Robson
Thomas Currye
Matheus Hall.

Nomina Clericorum.

Thomas Snawdon
Will'mus Morrison
Thomas Read.

Nomina eor' qui sunt cul' de parvo l'rocini et flagilland'.

Jacobus Walker
Georgius Coxon
Edwardus Spraggon
Will'mus Churban.

Nomen eius qui respectatur a pena pro Carnifice.

Henricus Robson.

Nomina eor' qui lib'antur p' procla- mac'on'. Nomina eor' qui p'donant' p' special' p'don'.

Jennetta Robson
Gerrardus Coxon
Georgius Maughlin
Bartramus Maughlin.

Nomina eor' qui sunt non cul'.

Thomas Beednell
Georgius Beednell sen'
Rob'tus Beednell
Georgius Beednell jun'
Cuthb'tus Wanlas

Rob'tus Little
Anthonius Little
Elizabetha Beednell

Edwardus Downes
Nich'us Chesbrough
Joh'es Wallis

Michael Elsdon

Andreas Pringle

Anthonius Hall

Joh'es Hangingshawe

Edwardus Hall } obl' p' se bene

Georgius Hall } gerend'.

Simō Robson

Alexander Stevenson

Georgius Bell

Joh'es Dixon

Reynold Browne

Joh'es Elsdon

Rad'us Hall

Rad'us Anderson

Roger' Dodd

oblig' per bonos manu capt'
vq; ad proxim' assi'as.

Will'mus Waugh
Joh'es Lumley

*Nomina eor' qui obligand' sunt vsq;
ad p'xim' assi'as p' se bene
gerend'*

Will'mus Hall Indictat'

Joh'es Read

Gerardus Charleton

Will'mus Hall

Georgius Tate

Thomas Hall

AnthoniusGlenwright } comp'dom'
Whitlock.

*Nomina eor' qui remanand' sunt in
prisona sine Ball'io.*

Joh'es Brewes

Jacobus Marshall

Will'mus Thirlewall

Thomas Bates

Jennetta Gray

David' Donaldson.

*Nomen eius qui committit p' cur'
pro extorc'one pro vna septiman'
et tunc obligand' est usq; prox'
assi'as et interim se bene gerend'*

Gawinus Charleton.

THO: GILBY cl'ic' assis'.

O lett the sorrowfull sighing of the prisoners come before the, according to the greatnes of thy power p'serve thou those that are ap-
 poynted to dye.—*Psal'*: 79 *ver*: 12.

NORTHUMBR' 1629.

Names of his Ma-
 ties Justices of
 peace.

A Kalender of all the prisoners now remayneing in his
 Ma^{ties} gaole of High Castle for ffelony and other capital
 offences deliu'ed vnto S^r Thomas Trevor & S^r Henry
 Yelverton his ma^{ties} Judges of this assizes houlden att
 Newcastle the xxijth of July an^o R. R's Caroli Anglie
 &c. quinto an^o dn'i 1629.

This six comitt
 the last assizes to
 remayne w^{thout}
 baile as by the Ju-
 dent appeareth.

1. James Marshall late of Whitside in the said County
 laborer charged wth the murthering of George Marshall
 his owne child w^{ch} he hath confessed.

2. John Brewis Scottishman for the stealeing of xxviiij
 weather sheepe, the goodes of S^r John Selby knight, and
 likewise for an eschape out of his ma^{ties} said gaole, as ap-
 peareth by a mittimus dated the second of August 1627.

3, 4, 5, 6. William Thirlewall Thomas Bates Jennetta
 Gray and David Donoldson commit by his Ma^{ties} Jus-
 tices att a sessions houlden att Morpeth the 5th of July
 anno tertio Regis Caroli for refusing to take the oath of
 allegiance.

S^r Jo: Claver-
 ing the last as-
 sizes w^{thout} baile
 or maneprise.

7. George Tate for the felonious stealeing of five
 sheepe the goodes of William Kirsopp of Ingram and for
 xxth. sheepe the goodes of James Davidson of Snype

house, and alsoe for two beastes the goodes of John Scott of Alnewick.

Sr John Fenwick
k^t, the 10th of
October 1628.

8. George Pott late of the Rawe, for the felonious stealeing of xij sheepe w^{ch} vpon his examinac'on he hath confessed being the goodes of Patrick Selby, John Baines, Nicholas Stevenson & Dennys Smith, and for the ffelonious stealeing of one black mare belonging to one William Thompson of Stanton.

Sr John Fenwick
k^t the 20th
of November
1628.

9. Edwarde Armestrong of the Armitage milne for the felonious stealeing of one gray nagg and a stirk, and certeine brydles found w'h him.

Sr John Delavale
k^t the 23th of
December 1628.

10. Edward Hall of Blackheddon labourer for susp'c'on of the felonious stealeing of two kine and two quies the goodes of John Horsley of Milburne grainge gent, and alsoe six beastes and six sheepe the goodes of Xpofer Pawtson gent.

Mr Raiph Carnaby Esq^r 15th
Januarij 1628.

11. William Pott of Lang Horsley for susp'c'on of the felonious stealeing of two oxen the goodes of Henry Dobson of long Horsley aforesaid.

Sr John Clau'ing
k^t 19 Januarij
1628.

12. George Bourne of Aylneham moore for the felonious stealeing of two sheepe w^{ch} vpon his examinac'on he hath confessed being the goodes of one Robert Wright of Ingram Webster.

Cuthb't Ridley
Clerk 7th of Ja-
nuar' 1628.

13. Roger Robson al's Hodge Billy of Sundayside indicted for the felonious stealeing of one Dunn mare & a fole the goodes of one Lyonell Shipley.

Robert Delavale
Esq^r 7th of
March 1628.

14. Allan Anderson of Alnewick mason for suspic'on of the felonious stealeing of Twenty stone of lead from the castle of Alnewick.

S^r Francis Brand-
ling k^t Cuthb'te
Hearon & Raiph
Carnaby Esq^{rs}
14th of March
1628.

15. John Charleton of the Bower for suspec'on of the felonious stealing of Three kine the goodes of Thomas Fenwick of Lesbury. And for suspec'on of divers other ffelonyes, and being offered to be app'hended for the said felonyes fledd, and alsoe for suspec'on of the stealeing of one gray gelding vpon w^{ch} he rode at his app'hen'con.

Tho: Middleton
Esq^r: 14th of
March 1628.

The said John a fugitive and notorious theife for the felonious stealeing of one black mare and thirtene sheepe forth of the growndes of little Swinburne the goodes of Thomas Middleton of Belsoe, Esq^r.

Raph Carnaby
Esq^r: 16th of
March 1628.

The said John for suspec'on of divers felonyes, and charged w^h the felonious stealeing of two oxen the goodes of Nicholas Errington of Keepwick, and three yong beastes the goodes of Richard Wilson of Houghton, and alsoe for the felonious stealeing of one horse the goodes of Gawen Bell of Errington.

S^r William Mus-
champ k^t 20th
of March 1628

16. Richard Forster late of West Lylburne charged w^h the felonious stealeing of one cow three stottes & two quies the goodes of S^r Arthure Grey knight.

S^r Jo: Clau'ing
k^t iith Aprill
1629.

17. John Burne of Snytter for the murthering & killing of Robert Lawson late of Snytter his Maister w^{ch} upon his examinac'on he hath confessed.

S^r Jo: Clau'ing

18. William Leighton of Cartington for the felonious

k^t 15th April
1629.

breaking open of a chest and taking out of the same xxij⁺ who vpon his examinac'on bath confessed the breaking of the chest, and takeing away of xvij⁺ ix⁺ of the said monye.

Sr William Mus-
champ k^t 16th
April, 1629.

19. Mary Smith single woman for the felonious take-
ing a purse out of the breeches of Thomas Collingwood
of Buckton gent. and nine pounde in gould & monye or
thereabouts in it, w^{ch} vpon hir examinac'on she hath
confessed.

Sr William Mus-
champ k^t 22th
April 1629.

20. Lancelot Waugh of West Newton laborer for the
felonious stealeing of x⁺ in monye out of the purse of
one Robert Stevenson of Hartside and for the stealeing
of a purse of one William Bawldes of west Newton
Blacksmith wth xvi^d of monye in it and alsoe two henns
the goodes of widdow Braddy of West Newton, all w^{ch}
vpon his examinac'on he hath confessed.

Sr Jo. Fenwick
k^t 19 Maij 1629

21. Gerard Coxon al's Hint for suspec'on of the steale-
ing of eight horses the goodes of John Wrinkles of Harne-
ham gent.

Cuthb't Hearn
Esq^r 19 Maij 1629

22. Cuthb'te Milburne al's Cuddy of the Leame for
y^e felonious stealeing of one filly and a coulte the goodes
of Robert Ladley of the hole Barnes.

Sr John Delavale
k^t xxviij Maij
1629.

The said Cuthbert for suspic'on of the felonious steale-
ing of one horse the goodes of Jenkin Chickin of Ingoe,
And for suspec'on of stealeing of two horses the goodes
of Thomas Read of Heddon on the Wall.

S^r Will^m Mus-
champ k^t 5 Junij
1629.

The said Cuthbert for the felonious breaking of the house of John Dunn of the Hillock.

S^r Jo: Fenwick
k^t 12 Junij 1629.

23. Michaell Hall al's Cuze Hall of Ottercopps for the felonious stealeing of three kyne the goodes of Thomas Fenwick of the Fawnes.

S^r Jo: Delavale
k^t 22 Junij 1629.

24. John Trumble of Yardvpp for suspec'on of the felonious stealeing of a brown bay mare the goodes of Lancelot Ogle of Darris Hall gent.

S^r Jo: Clau'ing
k^t 29 Junij 1629.

25. Thomas Mather of Heley laborer for the felonious stealeing of one quie the goodes of Henry Tate of Rothbury, w^{ch} vpon his examinac'on he hath confessed.

Will^m Carr Esq^r.
7th July 1629.

26. William Sparke of Catten Tayler for the felonious takeing of one bay mare the goodes of Thomas Sparke w^{ch} he hath confessed.

S^r Jo: Fenwick
k^t 2 July 1629.

27. Thomas Hogg of Reedsmouth for the felonious stealeing of xiiij sheepe the goodes of Richard Wadowe of Kirkwhelpington.

S^r William Mus-
champ k^t x^o
Julij 1629.

28. Walter Ramsey scottishman charged wth the felonious stealeing of a purse wth vij^t of mony in it out of the Pocket of Andrew Robinson, and wth the breakeing of the gaole whereby he escaped, w^{ch} escape he hath confessed.

Will^m Carr Esq^r
x^o Julij 1629.

29. Alexander Ridley of Whitsheeles gent charged wth the stealeing and killing of one brandett stott in a house

called the Spees house nobody dwelling therein the skin being taken off: and for the killing of another.

Tho: Middleton
Esqr 15 July 1629.

30. Ellen Charleton of the Bower charged wth the felonious stealeing of a black mare and twenty three sheepe the goodes of Thomas Middleton Esq.

Willm Carr Esqr.
17 July 1629.

31. Walter Ridley of the mill hills yeom' charged wth the receiveing of a bay mare the goodes of Thomas Sparke of Keynley.

Cuthb't Hearon
Esqr 20th Julij
1629.

32. James Robson of Bayshill charged wth suspec'on of a bay mare the goodes of Edmund Ireland of Toms-close.

Sr Jo: Delavale
k^t: 14 Julij 1629.

33. Edward Trumble sonne of John Trumble of Wilk-wood charged wth the felonious stealeing of one bay mare the goodes of Lancelot Ogle of Darras hall gent.

by the Judges the
the last assizes.

34. Gawen Charleton for that he hath not found bond for the good behaviour according to the Indent the last assizes.

35, 36. Simon Armstrong and Gawen Croser of Langleyshanke charged wth the felonious stealeing of a yong gray mare the goodes of John Yelder of Nynnyck.

T. SWINBURN: vic' com' Northb'r:

NORTHUMBER: 1629.—*The Indent from Mr Gilby Clerk of the said Assizes, 1629.*

DELIB'ACIO Gaole d'ni Regis castri sui Novi Castri sup' Tinam in com' Northumbr' p'dict' ibid'm tent' vicesimo secundo die Julij anno regni d'ni n'ri Caroli dei gr'a Anglie Scotie ffranc' et Hib'nie regis fidei defensor' &c. quinto corā Hentico Yelverton mil' vno Justiciar' dicti d'ni Regis de Banco: Et Thoma Trevor milit' vno Baronū Sc'cij d'ci d'ni Regis, Justic' d'ci d'ni regis ad assizas et general' gaole delib'ac'on' in com' p'dict' tenend.' Necnon ad diversas felon' transgr' et al' malefacta in com' p'dict' p'petrat' audiend' et terminand': Ac ad gaol' ill' de 'prisonar' in ead'm existen' delib'and' assign' &c.

*Nomina eor' qui ha'ent Judiciu' ad
suspend' p' Collam.*

Joh'es Burne, pend'
Cuthb'tus Milburne } mittend. in gær'
Jacobus Robson } cu' cap' Clarke
Maria Smith, pend'

Nomina Clericorum.

Will'mus Leighton
Michael' Reed
Geor. Pott al's Whitetoppin: mitt'
vt sup'a
Lancelotus Waugh
Rob'tus Yeldert
Georgius Burne: mit' cū Capt' p'd'

*Nomen eius qui respectuat' quia
Carnifex.*

Thomas Mather

Nomina eor' qui sunt non cul'.

Joh'es Charleton
Rob'tus Rotheram
Edwardus Oliver
Rob'tus Litle. mittend' cū cap' p'd'
Joh'es Pott
Andreas Hall
Joh'es Newton
Georgius Davison
Michael Reed
Will'us Pott: mitt' cū cap' p'd'
Georgius Gibson
Simo' Armestrong
Gawin Croser
Joh'es Allenson
Gerrard Coxon al's Hint
Georgius Hoard
Simo' Milburne: mit' cum cap' p'd'
Jana Wanles

Joh'es Hall
 Percivall Trewett ✓
 Edwardus Spraggon
 Marcus Pott Jun'
 Georgius Tate, mitt' cū cap' Clerk.
 Will'mus Sparke: mitt' vt sup'a
 Margareta Watson
 Rogerius Robson
 Thomas Thompson
 Barthol' Spraggon

*Nomina eor' qui lib'ant' p' procla-
 mac'on'.*

Allanus Anderson
 Michael Hall al's Cuse Hall
 Joh'es Trumble
 Thomas Hogg
 Jacobus Marshall
 Walter Ramsey
 Walter Ridley

*Nomina eor' qui obligand' sunt p'
 bonos manucaptor' vsq; p'x' assi'as*

Edwardus Armestrong mitt' cū
 cap' p'd'

Ric'us Forster
 Gawinus Charleton
 Thomas Elliott
 Joh'es Brewes
 Joh'es Musgrave

*Nomina eor' qui remanend' sunt in
 gaol' sine ball'io.*

Joh'es Charleton de la Bower
 Thomas Bathen
 Jenetta Grey and
 David Donaldson.

THO: GILBY Cler. Assi'as 1629.

Indentures between SIR FRANCIS BRANDLING and SIR THOMAS SWINBURNE in 1627; and SIR THOMAS SWINBURNE and THOMAS CARR, Esquire, in 1629, for delivering over the gaol of Northumberland, extracted from SIR THOMAS SWINBURNE'S Sheriff's book, by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Sec.

The indenture between SR FRANCIS BRANDLING and me.

THIS Indenture made the xxijth day of December in the Third yeare of the reigne of our Sou'eigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland defender of the faith &c. Betweene S^r Francis Brandling K^t late Sheriff of the County of Northumberland on thone p^ty And S^r Thomas Swinburne K^t now Sheriff of the said County on thother p^tye Witnesseth that the said Sir Francis Brandling, by vertue of his late office to him directed, hath deliu'ed & sett over to the said S^r Thomas Swinburne the Gaole of the said County called the high Castle And Prisoners there now remayning, That is to say:

Imp^s is the body of Thomas Bate, David Donaldson Williã Thirlewall & Jane Gray remayning in his Ma^{ties} said Gaole and convict in premunire att the Quarter Sessions of the peace, and are reprimed further vntill the next Assizes for refuseing to take the oath of Allegiance as doth appear by Indent from Mr Gilby Clerk of the Assizes.

William Waugh remayneing in his Ma^{ties} said Gaole and reprimed before Judgm^t.

John Lumley remayneing in his Ma^{ties} said Gaole & reprimed after Judgm^t.

John Read of Kellyburne charged wth the felonious stealeing of xxx sheepe, the goods of Edward Delavale of Alnewick Abbey gent. And also for the felonious stealeing of fower Kyne the goodes of Rob^te Dalton of Wetslad: And lykewise wth the felonious stealeing of five Kyne and one stott the goodes of John Johnson of Prestick. And for divers felonies comit^t in Bushoprick, he is comitt by S^r John Delavale^r K^t. The said Read charged with the stealeing of one Dunn mare the goodes of Rob^te Fenwick of Newham Comit by S^r John Fenwick K^t.

Matthew Hall of Newcastle upon Tyne charged wth the susp^ec'on of the felonious stealeing of a red lyard mare the goodes of Anthony Woodman of Elstwick comitt by Sir John Delavale K^t.

Roger Dodd of the Shaw Taylor charged wth the felonious stealeing of a black mare the goodes of Cuthbert Hearon of Chipchase Esq: Comitt by Cuthb^te Ridley Clerk.

Achibald Elliot scottisman charged wth the stealeing of five Nowte the goodes of the Lo: Cranstons Comit by the said Cuthb^te Ridley.

James Walker of Lucker laborer charged wth the felonious stealeing of fower sheepe the goodes of Nicholas Lynsey comitt by S^r William Muschamp K^t.

John Brewes scottishman in the said gaole committ for stealeing of xxxviiij wether sheepe, who made an escape before the last Assizes forth of the same gaole with Irons on his legges.

Symon Robson gaoler committ att the last Assizes for the escape of the said Brewes and is to answer the same at the next Assizes.

John Goddert late of Hexham yeom' vpon a Capias ad satisfaciend att the suite of Thomas Blaikeston gent' for the som'e of x^l. xij^s. iiij^d. principal debt, and xl' charges recou'ed in his Ma^{tie} Court of Common pleas.

It'm: Eight doores, tenn locks, tenn keyes, tenn pare of yron fetters & one paire of boults. In Witness whereof to one parte of theis p'sents remayneing wth the said S^r Thomas Swinburne now Sheriff of the said County, the said S^r Francis Brandling late Sheriff hath caused the late seale of his office to be put And to the other p'te thereof remayneing wth the said S^r Francis Brandling the said S^r Thomas Swinburne hath caused the now seale of his office to be putt the day & yeare first above written: Anno Dn'i 1627.

THOMAS GASCOYNGE: Subvic: Com: p'dict'.

The Indenture betweene me & THOMAS CARR, Esq; for the gaole.

THIS Indenture made the Thirteenth day of January In the ffiveth yeare of the reigne of o^r Sou'eigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c An^o D'ni 1629. Betweene S^r Thomas Swinburne knight late high Sheriff of the County of Northumb'land on thone p'ty And Thomas Carr of Forde in the said County Esq; now high Sheriff of the said County on thother p'ty. Witnesseth that the said S^r Thomas Swinburne By vertue of his Ma^{tie} writt of Discharge of his late office to him directed Hath Deliur'd and sett over to the said Thomas Carr the gaole of the said County called the high Castell, and all the prisoners now remayneing that is to say :

Imp'mis the bodyes of John Charlton de Le Bower, Thomas Bate

Jennett Gray and David Donoldson remayneing in the said gaole, committ by his Ma^{ties} Judges att the last Assizes ad remanend' in gaola sine ballio, as doth appeare by Indent from Mr Gilby Clerk of the Assizes.

DEBTORS.

It'm Raiph Milburne vpon a Capias vtlagatū after Judgm'. ad sectā Will'mi d'ni Grey de warke

The said Raiph Milburne vpon an Attachm' after decree from Yorke att the suit of Richard Rumney for iiij'. debt. xxxi'. damages and iiij'. iiij'. vj'. Costes.

It'm Lawrence Rishforth late of Acklington p'ke vpon a speciall Capias vtlagat' after Judgm'. ad sect' Marmaduci Macholl gen' p' 100'. debt and 10' costes indorsed upon the back of the writt.

It'm John Cresswell of Cresswell Esq; vpon an attachm' after decree from Yorke ad sect' Katherine Clarke for 15' damages & 3' 12' costes.

The said John Cresswell vpon an attachm' after decree from Yorke att the suite of the said Katherine Clarke widd' for 66' 13' 4' damages & 4' costs and charges.

The said John p' contempt' for not appearing att Yorke & p'formeing a decree made the xth day of June 1628. between Rob'te Clarke by his Tutrix Mary Clarke p' plaintiff and the said John Cresswell & Raiph Errington of Bingfield defend'tes.

The said John Creswell vpon a Capias vtlagatu' before Judgement out of the Court of Com'on pleas att Westm' ad sect' Ric'i Hester in pl'ito deb'ti.

The said John vpon a writt out of the Kinges Bench att the suite of Sir William Fenwicke knight in a plea of trespasse.

The said John Creswell vpon a writt out of his Ma^{ties} Court of Com'on pleas at Westm' at the suite of William Southgate gen' in pl'ito deb'ti.

It'm George Beednall of Leamondon gen' vpon a Com'ission of Rebellion out of the Starchamber p' contemptis.

The said George Beednell vpon a Capias ad Satisfaciend': out of the Courte of Com'on pleas ad sect' Lodouici Widdrington gen' for 500^l recon'ed ag' him in the same Courte and 5^l for damages.

The said George vpon an attachm't from Yorke at the suite of

FELONS.

Edward Thompson late of Shipley Taylor committ by S^r. Francis Brandling for suspec'on of the felonious stealeing of one mare the goodes of Thomas Clarke of Dennyng.

Anthony Fenwick of North Sheeles laborer Committ by Raiph Carnabye Esq; for suspec'on of the felonious stealeing of a black ox the goodes of William Fenwick of East Heddon gent'.

John Forster al's Clowers John late committed to his Ma^{ties} gaole att Carlyle by his Ma^{ties} Justices of the peace for the County of Cumberland, for suspec'on of Felony And by vertue of his Ma^{ties} writt deliu'ed over to the said S^r Thomas Swinburne by S^r William Layton Knight then high Sheriff of the County of Cumberland: 30 die Augusti 1629.

James Henderson a Scottishman commit by Cuthb'te Ridley Clerke

for the felonious stealeing of a black Cow the goods of John Hunter of Newbegin, and likewise the said James is a man of evill name and fame and a fugitive.

The said James for suspec'on of the felonious stealeing of one Cow and ten sheepe the goodes of Roger Widdrington of Cartington Esq; And alsoe for suspec'on of divers other felonies wherewthall he is lykely to be charged he being a man of notorious fame committ by S^r John Delavale Knight.

John Anderson and Richard Taylor charged wth the felonious breaking of the house of Nicholas Gardyner of Mersfen wth they have vpon there examinac'ons confessed and alsoe for stealeing forth of the same house a xxij^s pease of gould, xi^s pease of gould & x^s in silver and some other thinges to the value of Lij^s or thereabouts committ by S^r John Delavale K^t.

Francis Tate of Easter Newbiggin shipherd committ by Sr Williā Muschamp K^t. charged wth the felonious stealeing and putting out of fower oxen the goodes of Andrew Pawling and Roger Birnett of Wester Newbiggin yeomen.

Raiphe Sprvtt late of Whittonstall who att the last Assizes houlden at Durham was convict of stealeing of Cattle and by the Judges reprived vpon Condic'on that he should dep'te his Ma^{ties} dominions: And at the Assizes houlden for this County was indicted for stealeing of one oxe the goodes of Nicholas Blaixton of Andrew house, who notwithstanding the said charge given him by his Ma^{ties} Judges hath neglected his dep'ture vntill this tyme, and hath since misdemeaned himself in sundry respects Committ by S^r John Fenwick Knight 30^o Octobr' 1629.

Hugh Hutchinson* al's Pundy charged wth the felonious stealeing of two mares one oxe & xvj sheepe the goodes of Mr Thimbleby of

* Mort.

Laugor Castle and tenn sheepe the goodes of Thomas Wilson & George Pearson Committ by Cuthbert Ridley Clerk.

George Wilkinson of Allanton for suspe'con of the felonious stealeing of two sheepe the goodes of James Marshall of Lintbrigge Committ by Cuthb'te Ridley Clerk.

George French of Toddsburne in Whitfield, charged wth the felonious stealeing of one black horse of Henry Jacksons of Kellogg and alsoe for the felonious stealeing of one Gray Horse of James Stevensons of East Allan, and two stirks, of Lancelot Armestronges of Dumetle of all wth seu'all felonyes he standeth indicted att the last gen'ale Quarter Sessions houlden for this County Comitt by Cuthbert Hearon Esq;

Isabell Millburne for the felonious takeing of a silver beere bowle and other p'ticulars conteyned in the mittimus Committ by S' John Selby K^t.

Michael Brand for the wounding of one Anderson of Ellington: Com' by S' Williã Muschamp K^t.

James Henderson before menc'oned charged wth the felonious stealeing of one Cowe & tenn sheepe, and for suspec'on of stealeing two beates and three sheepe Committ by S' John Clavering Knight.

Here follows an unimportant list of the writs turned over by the same indenture, which concludes with

Things belonging to the Gaole.

Item, eight doores tenn locks tenn keyes, tenn pare of yron Fetters And one pare of boults. In witness whereof as well the said Sir Thomas Swinburne late Sheriff as the said Thomas Carr Esq now Sheriff have interchangeably putt there hands and seu'all seales of there offices the day and yeare first above written.

THO: CARR, vic' Northumb'.

A Copy of the Return of three Members of Parliament to serve for the County of Northumberland, in 1654. Communicated by MR. JOHN BELL.

THIS Indenture made ye twelueth day of July in ye year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and foure at Alnwick in ye County of Northumberland Between Robert Shafto Esq^r. Sheriff of ye County aforesaid of ye one p^t. and Robert Collingwood k^t. Robert Mitford Edward Fenwick Robert Lisle Will^m Shafto Richard Forster Luke Killingworth Thomas Horsley Esqrs. Martin Fenwick Robert Shafto John Ogle Thomas Dent George Heron Will^m Aynesley Thomas Wharton Robert Collingwood John Salkeild Will^m Rea and divers other p^{sons} qualified and capable to elect members to serve in Parliam^t for County &c. as is p^{scrib}ed in ye gouernment of ye Comonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland on ye other p^t. Witnesseth That Proclamaion having beene made in every market town in ye County aforesaid w^{ith}in ten dayes after ye receipt of a oertain writ of ye Lord Protector to ye aforesaid Sherife Directed & to one p^t. of these Indentures annexed for ye Election of three knights fit and discreet p^{sons} of ye County aforesaid for ye parliam^t. of ye said Lord Protector at Westminster in ye County of Middlesex ye third day of September next to be held The aforesaid Robert Collingwood Rob^t Mitford Edward Fenwicke Robert Lisle Will^m Shafto Richard Forster Luke Killingworth Thomas Horsley Martin fenwicke Robert Shafto John Ogle Thomas Dent George Heron Will^m Aynsley, Thos Wharton Rob^t Collingwood John Salkeild Will^m Rea and divers other p^{sons} of ye County aforesaid who were p^{sent} at such Election freely and indifferently have chosen three knights girt w^{ith} swords y^e is to say Will^m Fenwicke of Wallington Robert Fen-

wicke of Bedlington & Henry Ogle of Egglingham K^u to be in parliam^t aforesaid as in ye said writ is men'oned who for themselves as also for all ye People of ye County aforesaid have full and sufficient power to doe & consent unto those things w^{ch} in ye aforesaid Parliam^t shall then and there by Com'on Consent & Counsell happen to be ordained Provided & it is hereby declared That ye said p'sons so chosen shall not have power to alter ye gouernm^t as it is now settled in one single person & a Parliam^t. In witnesse whereof as well the Seale of office of ye said sherife as also ye Seale of ye Electors aforesaid ye day year & place abovesaid to these Indentures are put and affixed.

Robert Colingwood
 Robert Mitford
 E ffenwick
 Rich^d fforster
 Lu Killingworth
 Thos Horsley
 Rob^t Lisle
 John Ogle
 Robert Shafto
 Geo Heron
 Wm Aynsley
 Robt Collingwood

Robert Shafto Esq^r Sherife of
 Northumberland
 Will Shafto
 Martin ffenwick
 John Salkeld
 Will. Rea
 Wm : Horsley
 Willam Crowe
 Humphrey Gill
 John Cooke
 Rob Smith w^h many others.

On the Court Party in the House of Commons in 1677, communicated by WALTER CALVERLEY TREVELYAN, of Wallington, Esq. to MR. ADAMSON, Sec.

MY DEAR SIR,

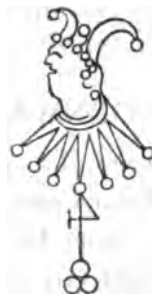
I HAVE taken the liberty of sending a copy of a paper in my father's possession, thinking it may appear to you of sufficient interest to be read at a meeting of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society.

This paper illustrates a passage in Hume's History of England, (vide 8vo. edition, 1782, vol. 8, page 30) where speaking of the disputes between Charles the Second and his Parliament, in 1677, he says,—
 “The House of Commons was now regularly divided into two parties, “the court and the country. Some were inlisted in the court party “by offices, nay, a few by bribes secretly given them.”

It appears to contain a list of the court party in 1677, written in a hand of about the same date, on a sheet of stout foolscap paper, so denominated from the paper or water-mark, which I have given below, reduced one third in its size, and which is nearly the same as that on some of the paper on which “Manley's Law Interpreter” was printed, in 1672.

Your's, sincerely,

W. C. TREVELYAN.



A I

Per Annum.
£.

1677.

BEDFORD.

Sir Hum. Winch, Bart. 500.

BARKESHIRE.

Sir Tho: Higgon, Kt. 500.

Sir F: Winnington, Kt. P. 1500.

Sir Tho: Doleman, 200.

Richd. Aldsworth, Esq. P. 400.

Wallingford, Sir Jno. Bennett, Kt. *Places.*

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sir Rich: Temple P. 1200.

Buckingham Town, Sir William Smith, *Places.*

Chippingwicham, Sir Robt. Sawyer, *Places.*

Agmondisham, Sir William Drake, Bart.

CAMBRIDG-SH.

Sir Tho: Hatton, *Pension.*

Sir Thos. Chickley, *Place.*

University, Sir Charles Wheeler, *Place.*

Towne Cambridge, Lord Allington, *Pension.*

CHESHIRE.

Thom: Chelmondy, *Place.*

Chester, Robt. Worden, Esq. *Place.*

CORNWALL.

Sir Jona. Trelawany, Bt. *Place.*

Sir John Compton, Bart. *Place.*

Lanceston, Sir Charles Harbord, *Place.*

Leskeard, Barnard Grenfield, Esq. *Place.*

Helston, Signey Godolphin, *Place.*

	1677.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £.
	Sir Wm. Godolphin, Bart.	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Truro,</i>	Jno: Arrundal: his Father,	2000.
<i>Cammelfoord,</i>	Sir Wm. Godolphin, Kt.	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Westlow,</i>	John Trillany,	<i>Places & 200.</i>
	John Trillany, Sir Jonathan's Son	
<i>Eastlow,</i>	Charles Osborn,	<i>Place.</i>
	Henry Semer,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Bossing,</i>	Robert Roberts,	50.
<i>St. Michael,</i>	Lord Hawley,	<i>Places.</i>
<i>St. Maws,</i>	Anthony Spry,	400.
	Sir Joseph Friddinam,	<i>Pension.</i>
<i>Callington,</i>	Sir Cyrill Wich,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Carlisle,</i>	Sir Philip Howard,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Christ. Musgrave,	<i>P. & 200.</i>

DEVONSHIRE.

	Sir Copelston Branfield,	
<i>Exeter,</i>	Sir James Smith,	<i>Place.</i>
	Thom. Walker,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Totnes,</i>	Sir Edmund Seemar, speaker's father,	
	Sir Thom: Berry,	200.
<i>Plymouth,</i>	Sir Gilbert Tawbut,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Plympton,</i>	Sir Nicho: Stanning,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Hunington,</i>	Sir Courtney Poole,	
	Sir Peter Priddex,	300.
<i>Beerlston,</i>	Sir John Maynard,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Tiverton,</i>	Sir Henry Foord,	300.

DORSETTSHIRE.

<i>Corfe,</i>	Ld. Lattimore,	
<i>Lineregis,</i>	Sir Jno: Shaw,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Weymouth,</i>	Sir Winston Churchell,	<i>Place.</i>

1677.		<i>Per Annum.</i> £.
<i>Bridport,</i>	George Boorman,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Warham,</i>	Geo: Pitt,	
<i>Durham,</i>	John Tempest,	
ESSEX.		
<i>Harwich,</i>	Thom: King,	50.
GLOUCESTER.		
	Sir Baynam Throgmorton,	200.
<i>Malden,</i>	Sir Richd. Wiseman,	1000.
	Sir Will: Wiseman,	
HAMSHIRE.		
<i>Winchester,</i>	Sir Robt. Holms,	<i>Place.</i>
	Lorraine Hyde,	200.
<i>South hampton,</i>	Sir Richd. Foord,	
	Thom: Knowles,	400.
<i>Portsmouth,</i>	Sir Geo: Carterch,	<i>Places.</i>
<i>Petersfield,</i>	Thomas Niele, Esq.	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Stockbridge,</i>	Sir Robt. Haward,	<i>Place.</i>
	Robert Philips,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Isle a Weigh,</i>	Sir Geo: Holms,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Kingsmill Lucy, Bt.	<i>Place.</i>
HERREFOORD.		
	Thom: Price,	300.
	Robt. Westphalin,	<i>P.</i>
<i>Webley,</i>	Sir John Barnaby,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
	Sir Thos. Williams,	<i>Place.</i>
HARTEFOORDSHIRE.		
	Sir Richd. Frankeling,	400.

1677.

Per Annum.
£.

HUNTINGDON.

Sir John Cotten,
Sir Lyonell Waldon,*P. & Mo.*

KENT.

<i>Canterbury,</i>	Sir Thom: Pyton,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Ed: Masters,	
<i>Rochester,</i>	Thom: Hardness,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Maydston,</i>	Sir Fra: Clarke,	<i>Place.</i>
	Thom: Harlackendon,	<i>Pension.</i>
<i>Queensbrough,</i>	Sir Robt. Barnham,	<i>Pension.</i>
	Jas. Harbott, Ld. Treas'r son,	

LANCASHIRE.

<i>Lancaster,</i>	Sir Roger Bradshaw,	<i>Place.</i>
	Richd. Kirby,	<i>Pension.</i>
<i>Preston,</i>	Richd. Harrison,	<i>Place.</i>
	Ed: Regby,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Newton,</i>	Sir John Otway,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Chiddero,</i>	Lord Georges,	500.
	Sir John Heath,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Wiggin,</i>	Sir Thom: Stringer,	<i>Place.</i>
	Earl of Ankerum,	500.
	Sir Jeoffery Shackerley,	<i>P. & M.</i>

LEICESTERSHIRE.

<i>The Town,</i>	George Funt,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Wm. Hartab,	200.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Sir Robt. Carr,	<i>Place.</i>
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	1677.	<i>Per Annum.</i>
<i>Grimsby,</i>	Wm. Broxholme,	<i>£.</i>
<i>Stamfoord,</i>	Stamfoord Pyregrin Barty,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
		<i>Place.</i>

MIDDLESEX.

	Sir Lance Lake,	
	Sir Thom : Allen,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Westm.</i>	Sir Philip Warwick,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Richd. Anérad,	<i>Mo. given.</i>

NORFOLKE.

	Chris. Jay,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Norwitch,</i>	Franc. Corey,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Lynregis,</i>	Robt. Cooke, Ld. Tresr. Son,	
	Robt. Wreight,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Yarm,</i>	Sir Wm. Doyley,	<i>500.</i>
<i>Thotfoord,</i>	Sir Allen Absley,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Jos. Williamson,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Castteriseing,</i>	Sam. Peepys,	<i>Place.</i>

Towne,

NORTHAMPTON.

	Ld. Bryan,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Higginferris,</i>	Sir Lewes Palmer,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Bruckley,</i>	Robert Spencer,	<i>Place.</i>

NORTHUM.

	Sir John Fenwicke,	<i>Places.</i>
	Sir Ralph Delavall,	<i>500.</i>
<i>Newcastle,</i>	Sir Francis Anderson,	<i>Pensioner.</i>
<i>Morpeth,</i>	Sir Geo. Downing,	<i>Places.</i>
<i>Berwick,</i>	Dan. Collingwood,	<i>P. & 300.</i>
	Ld. Dumblain, Ld. Trasr. Son,	

	1677.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £.
	NOTTINGAMSHIRE.	
	Sir Francis Lake, Bart.	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Caslredforth,</i>	Sir Edwd. Dearing, Bart.	<i>Place.</i>
	OXFOORDSHIRE.	
<i>Unceversity,</i>	Lorrans Hyde,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Woodstock,</i>	Thom : Haward,	400.
	RUTLAND.	
	Ed : Noell,	<i>Places.</i>
	SHROPSHIRE.	
<i>Ludloe,</i>	Sir Francis Lawley,	<i>Place.</i>
	Somersett Fox,	300.
<i>Wenlock,</i>	Sir Job Charleton,	
<i>Bpps. Castle,</i>	Geo : Wilde,	<i>Place.</i>
	Edwd. Warring,	<i>Pensioner.</i>
	Wm. Oakley,	<i>Pension.</i>
	SUMERSETTSHIRE.	
<i>Bath,</i>	Sir Wm. Bassett,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Wells,</i>	Ld. Fitzharding,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Tanton,</i>	Sir Wm. Porteman,	
<i>Bridgewater,</i>	Sir Ed : Windam,	<i>Mo.</i>
<i>Mynhead,</i>	Thom. Windam,	<i>Place.</i>
	STAFFORDSHIRE.	
<i>Litchfield,</i>	Randell Edgerton,	<i>Place.</i>
	Richd. Dyett,	<i>P. & 400.</i>
<i>Newes under line,</i>	Walter Chetwind,	
	Louiston Gouer,	

	1677.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £.
<i>Suffolke,</i>	Sir Hen: Felton,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Dunnage,</i>	Sir John Pettys,	300.
	William Wood,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Sudbury,</i>	Sir Robt. Cordell,	
	Major Cornwall,	<i>P. & 200.</i>
<i>Eye,</i>	Sir Geo: Reeves,	<i>Pension.</i>
	Robt. Reeves, his sonn,	
<i>Edmondsbury,</i>	Sir Jno. Duncomb,	2000.
	Wm. Duncom, his sonn,	

SURREY.

	Sir Adam Browne, Bt.	
<i>Southwarke,</i>	Sir Tho: Bloodsworth,	
<i>Bleckingley,</i>	Sir Wm. Hayward,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Ed: Byck,	<i>M. & Place.</i>
<i>Rygatt,</i>	Sir Jno. Warden,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Gilfoord,</i>	Sir Tho: Dillinglay,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Wm. Morley,	

SUSSEX.

<i>Chitchester,</i>	Richd. May,	<i>P.</i>
<i>Horsham,</i>	Sir Jno. Conett, Bt.	
<i>Midhurst,</i>	Baptist May,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Lewes,</i>	Sir Jno. Stapeley, an Indegent,	
	Sir Tho: Woodcock	<i>P. & 200.</i>
<i>Slayning,</i>	Hen: Gourcing,	200.
<i>Bramber,</i>	Pierce Gourcing,	200.
<i>Newshoram,</i>	Hen: Gourcing,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>East Grimstead,</i>	Ed: Sackville,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Arrendall,</i>	Earle of Orrery,	<i>Places.</i>
	Viscount Langford,	500.

1677.

*Per Annum.**£.***WARWICK.***Warwick Town,*

Sir Robt. Howll, Bt.
 Sir Hen : Pickering,
 Sir Frances Compton,

Mo. given.
Place.
Place.

WESTM.LAND.*Apleby,*

Sir Philip Musgrave, Bt.
 Thom : Tufton,

Place.
Place.

WILSHIRE.

Newsaram,
Wilton,
Hyndon,

Westburry,
Devizes,
Chippenham,
Malmsberry,

Crecklade,
Redwin,
Ludgershall,

Old Saram,
Malberry,

Sir Stephen Fox,
 Sir J : Berkenhead,
 Ed : Semer,
 Robt. Hyde, Esq.
 Tho : Wankling,
 Geo : Johnson,
 Frans. Gwyn,
 Philip Howard,
 Sir Thomas Escott,
 Sir Jno. Earnly,
 Henry Clarke,
 Dan : Finch, Ld. Chanr. Son,
 Wm. Ashburneham,
 Geo. Legg,
 Sir Ed : Nicholas,
 Sir John Elwes.

Place.
Place.
Places.
Mo. given.
Mo. given.
Place.
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P.
Place.
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WORCESTERSHIRE.

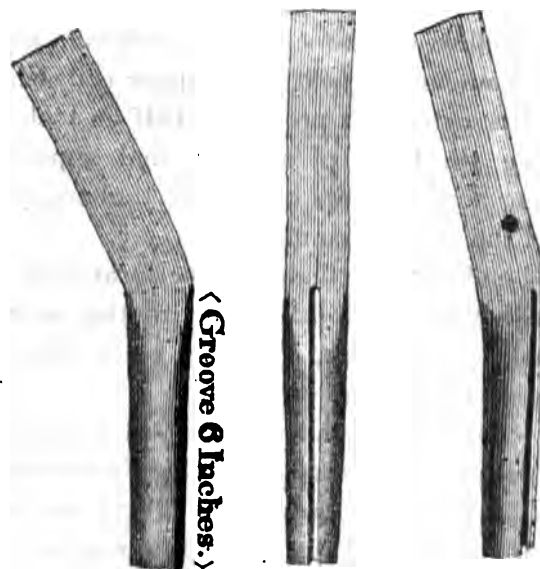
Worcester,
Dalwitch,

Sam. Sandes,
 Thomas Street,
 Sam : Sandes, jun.

Mo. given:
Place.
Mo. given.

	1677.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £.
<i>Evesham,</i>	Hen: Coventry, Sect. of State, Sir Jno. Handmar,	<i>Place.</i>
YORKSHIRE.		
<i>Knasbrough,</i>	Conyers Dersey,	
<i>Rippon,</i>	Sir Thos. Slingsby,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Jno. Tabutt,	<i>Places.</i>
	Sir Jno. Nicholas,	
<i>Heddon,</i>	Sir Edmd. Jennings,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Albrough,</i>	Henry Guy,	
	Sir Solomon Swaile, Bt.	
<i>Thirske,</i>	Sir John Reasby,	
<i>Northallerton,</i>	Sir Wm. Wentworth,	500.
<i>Pomfrett,</i>	Sir Gibb. Gerrard,	
	Sir Wm. Lowder,	<i>Place.</i>
SINCQUE PORTS.		
<i>Hastings,</i>	Sir Dennis Ashburnham,	
<i>Rye,</i>	Sir John Robinson,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Hithe,</i>	John Harvey,	<i>Place.</i>
	Sir Lyonell Jenkins,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Dover,</i>	Geo: Montague,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Sandwich,</i>	John Strowd,	<i>Places.</i>
<i>Bewmorris,</i>	John Robinson,	400.
<i>Bricknock,</i>	Sir Harbut Price, Bt.	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Cardiganshire,</i>	Sir Chas. Cotterell,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Carmarthen Towne,</i>	Ld. Vaughan,	1000.
	Lord Buckley,	1000.
<i>Denbysire,</i>	John Wye,	<i>Mo. given.</i>
<i>Flintshire,</i>	Sir Tho: Handmer, Bt.	500.
<i>Flint,</i>	Roger Wheatly,	<i>Place.</i>
<i>Merioneth,</i>	Andrew Newport,	400.

An Account of certain Instruments formerly used for the Purpose of Blasting in the Lead Mines of COLONEL and MRS. BEAUMONT, at Allenheads. Communicated by MR. THOMAS CRAWHALL, of Newcastle upon Tyne.



THESE sketches represent an iron instrument found in Allenheads leadmines, supposed to have been formerly used in blasting, the length of which was $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet; the upper part having since been cut off, there only now remain 6 inches above the bended part, which

B b

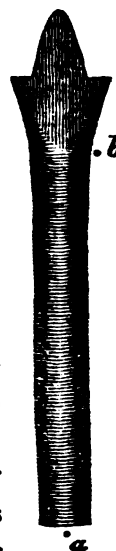
is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches square to the elbow, forming an angle of about 10° ; is of a cylindrical shape, slightly tapering to the other end, which is one inch in diameter. On the outward side of the angle, along the circular part, is a groove 6 inches in length, of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, and of similar depth, projected (it is supposed) to receive the train of gunpowder, pertaining to the charge:—the application of which, has been to drive it tightly into the hole bored in the rock above the powder, and the upper part fixed by strong timbers placed across the top, for the purpose of preventing it being thrown out, without the desired effect.

Another instrument of iron, found in the same lead mines, differs from the above, in wanting the square bar at top, and in place of the hollow on one side, is cylindrical, and has a tube, one inch diameter, to nearly the upper end, where it is flattened, and has a shoulder projecting half an inch on each side, resembling the head of a spear, and apparently intended for fixing across it bars of iron or timbers, to oppose the violence of the ignited gunpowder.

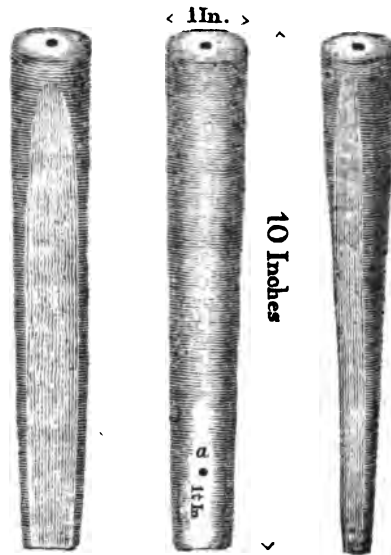
At the round end of the cylinder is a perforation *a*, communicating through the hollow tube, with another at *b*, placed for a touch hole on one side, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches below the shoulder, and 8 inches distant from the other end.

A tradition exists among the miners, that formerly strong timbers and wedges were used for fixing down the charges in blasting, to hinder explosion without effect; but no further explanation, as to the mode in which this was achieved, is to be obtained, neither in regard to the process of charging, nor of the tools used: It is highly probable, however, that such application might have been, and was adopted, for securing the two instruments above described.

A series of five more of these instruments have been found in the same mine, of the respective lengths of $8\frac{1}{2}$, 10, $10\frac{1}{2}$, and 12 inches.



There was also discovered, in opening some old workings at the West end of Allenheads lead mines, about a month since (January, 1820), a tool, formerly used, it is conjectured, for the purpose of blasting with gunpowder, or rather, in forming a communication with it in the rock to be exploded. The spot where it was found, is in the Great Limestone there, about forty feet from the surface. The latest record of this place having been wrought, was in the year 1716, since which period this part of it has been entirely filled up with rubbish and fallings



in of the vein, and only recently re-opened; when the above, with some other instruments, were discovered in one of the flats in the limestone. The oldest workmen of the present day do not recollect their use, nor did they ever hear of such tools employed for the purpose; they seem, however, to have been meant for it, and their application as follows:— After having drilled a hole in the rock to be blasted, with a chissel or jumper sufficiently deep, the gunpowder is put into the bottom of it, say to the depth of three or four inches; next the tool above sketched, which is round at one end, one inch in diameter, with a hole in the centre about one-eighth of an inch, which communicates with another of the same dimensions, about one and one-fourth inches from the other end on the cylindrical side, the opposite being flattened from within one inch of the bottom, or circular end, to one-third of an inch thick at the other extremity; this hollow cavity appears to have been filled with powder, which, when the instrument was placed in the hole, would immediately communicate with the charge. In this situation, it is presumed, wedges (of wood) were driven against the flat side of the iron tube, to resist the force of the gunpowder, when fired through the touch

hole marked *a*, by a train or match laid for that purpose. How long this has been in disuse is altogether uncertain, even the name is forgotten: it is probable a century might since have passed away.

Nearly in the same spot with the above, to which I annex a sketch, a tool of more recent use was found, called by the miners the stock and feathers; and remembered by some to have been occasionally used about fifty years ago, particularly in wet situations, where gunpowder could not, without great difficulty, be applied. A perforation was made in the stratum, say four to six inches deep; placing two thin pieces of iron, called the feathers, which are rounded on one side and flat on the other, in this hole, the former being next to the rock, the wedge or stake was driven between until a portion of it split asunder.



This wedge also was found near the same place with the preceding, of six inches in length, and one and one-fourth inches square, tapering to a point, having a hole one-fourth inch square, through it, at one and a half inches from the top; this, according to the reports of very old miners, was intended to receive a small rod of iron, by which, one man held, whilst another drove the wedge; but not used during the life of any present workman.



At what period the present method of blasting was introduced into these mines cannot be ascertained. A person now residing there, recollects to have heard his father (who died thirty-nine years ago, at the age of sixty-seven) say, although it took place before his time, that prior to the pricker and drive-all being used, it was so hazardous an experiment, that two men were specially appointed, whose province it was to visit the different workings, for the express purpose of charging

and blasting, after the holes had been prepared. Another, who, as well as his father and grand-father before him, has been a pickman for sixty years past, has a faint remembrance of hearing very old men say, that formerly stemples were employed, but has no knowledge as to the process, nor ever saw any other mode practised than the present; but that the stock and feathers had been in use during both the lifetimes of his father and grand-father.

Papers relating to the general History of the County of Durham, in the time of CHARLES II. extracted from the 31st Volume of the MICKLETON COLLECTION; and communicated by the REV. JOHN HODGSON, Sec.

*To Colonell John Tempest Esq. Colonell of the Trainbands Leve^{nt}
Colonell Ralph: Cole and Major William Bellasor either of them
for the County of Durham.*

FORASMUCH as George Liburne and Thomas Brown of Sunderland-near-the-Sea are notoriously famed and iustly suspected to be dangerous and disaffected persons to his Ma^{ty} present governm^t and to the lawes of this kingdome, and hath been at their dwelling houses sum^ooned by us to appeare before us on the 11th of this Instant September; And yet did not then, nor since that time make any such appearance, but wthdrew themselves from their habitations:—These are therefore in his Majestys name to will and require you to send and employ 2 commissio^r officers of the trained band together wth some constable to make due search for arms in their houses and the same to take away for the use of the county: and also to apprehend their persons wherever they may be found in this county and so convey and com^{itt} them to the goale of Durham, there to remaine untill our further order. Given under our hands and seals the 17th of Sept^r. 1662.

JO: DURESME

JO: CONYERS

RO: HYLON

HEN: LAMPTON

MY LORD,

York, 4th Jan. 1663.

HERE are are prison^r now to be tryd for contriveing Rebellion ag^t his Ma'tie, and that y^e p^ose may be cleare and convinceing, its necessary that Thomas Randall of Cockerton, does give evidence viva voce, at their tryall as he hath done by informa'con in yo' County otherwise some notorious Rebels may escape justice; therefore l'tres have been formerly written to yo' Lord^{sh} to desire hee may be sent hither, he dwelling within yo' Lord^{sh} jurisdic'con but neither receiving answer nor the partye, it is thought necessary to make this further addresse to desire your Lordshipps concurrence, and assistance in this affaire, which concerns his Ma'ties service, especially seeing it admitts noe delay because the Judges read their com'ic'on vpon Thursday next, we hope for an answer by the first post, that wee may be assured this comes to your hands.

My Lord,

Your humble servants,

RO: LANGLEY

T: OSBORNE

THO: GOWER

GODF: COPLEY

Wee make the like request concerning Mr Leeming the younger of Cornforth and Mr Ellerington and Joseph Weylin.

*For the right Revered ffather in God John by divine providence
Lord Bishop of Durham att Durham.*

*To the Right Reuerent Father in God John Lord Bishop of Durham at
Durham Castle present.*

MY LORD,—THIS day most of the gentry and ffreeholders meet, at Morpeth with the Lord Widdrington and S' William Fenwicke volenteure troops who was in reddynes to serue y' Lordship; and to assist our neighbouring countys, but since by y' Lordships letter you find

it not necessary for the continueing of them longer together in armes,
we shall dismiss them to morrow and vpon all occasion shew o'selves

My Lord y' humble Servants,

THO: FOSTER

WILLIAM WIDDRINGTON

WILL STROTHER

WILLIAM FENWICKE

RA JEN'ISON

CUTHBERT HERON

JAMES OGLE

HENRY WIDRINGTON.

Morpeth this 15th of Octob' 1663.

*To the right honourable John Lord Bpp of Durham at his lodging in the
Pellmel neere St Jameses these, London.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE

April 26th, 1664.

WE received yours on sunday, which (by the date) might haue arrived a post sooner, as to the persons who weere secured vpon the deputy Lieut' of Yorkshires letter, they are still continued in the Prouost Marshall's custodie, and Liewis Frost is now made one of their number but as they are extreame clamourous for their libertie, so wee can doe no lesse than to presse for an information against them, which will enable vs to answer their loud cryes of iniustice, and secure them by a more legall imprisonment, and then what fauour wee shew to them will contract a guilt vpon our selves: wee cannot silently passe ouer, that part of your Lordshipps letter concerning S^r Tho: Gowers assertion of some in office in our countie to haue given intelligence to Joplin of the intention to apprehend him, wee hope he is so much a wellwisher to his Ma^{ties} service, that he will name the person who hath offended in this high nature, that he may be discharged of his employment and receive such punishment as his crime doth deserve; and vntill this be done wee all lye vnder the burden of this accusation at large, although wee do not doubt of your Lordshipps endeaouering

our iust vindication, for wee assure our selues, you do belieue vs to be
his Ma^{ties} truly loyall subiects, as you know we are

your Lordshipps humble servants

THO: DAVISON

WILL BLACKISTON

NICHOLAS COLE

JOHN TEMPEST

FR: BOWES

RALPH DAVISON.

DURHAM SS.—*Agreed upon and ordered at a meeting of the Lord
Lieut^{ies} and deputy Lieutenants of y^e said County, upon Wednesday
June y^e 22th 1664 as followeth: viz^t.*

1. That y^e L^d Lieuten^t shall addresse l^res to y^e L^d Chancellor and y^e
Kings secretary to signify y^e desire of the deputy Lieutenants and
Justices of the peace that those eight p^rsons vizt. Timothy Whitting-
ham Esq^r M^r W^m Midford, Lewes Frop shipmaster, George Watson,
Robert Selby, Thomas Burdus, George Bateman, and William Brasse,
now upon his Ma^{ties} com^{and} in custody here, may either have suffi-
cient cause shewed, why they should bee still detayn^d or else bayl^d
and so sett at liberty, and to appeare at the next sessions or assizes here
to be holden, or otherwise to give us such order therein as may pre-
vent their clamour for being imprison^d about y^e space of three moneths.

2. That Capt Newton shall prepare warrants to bee signed by the
deputy Lieutenants and sent to y^e head constables, that all y^e Mititia
horse and ffoot do appeare upon y^e Bellas heads neare Durham, on
tuesday y^e 26th day of July next by 9 of y^e clock in y^e fforenoone, with
a full supply of all defects formerly found amongst them, and that
each Musqueteer bring wth him halfe a pounce of powder 3 yeard of
Match, and bullets, and every ffootman six pence in money for y^e
Muster master; and that each horseman bring powder and bullet
according to his wanted propor^con and 12^d for y^e Musterm^r upon

paine and penalty allotted by act of parliam^t and likewise that they desire all those that have subscribed the association to appear at the same time and place, in y^e best equipage they can.

3. That M^r High Sheriffe S^r Tho: Davison bee the chiefe of all the voluntiers, and that wee shall here agree, what other officers they shall obey upon any occasion according to their subscripc^on aforesaid.

RALPH DAVISON

JOHN HYLTON

JOHN TEMPEST

TO: DURESME

THO: DAVISON

HEN: LAMBTON

NICHOLAS COLE

MY LORD,—HAVING this convenient opportunity of the bearer, Capt Newton I assume the boldnesse to acquaint yo^r Lordship that my owne and my officers stock of money is almost totally exhausted w^{ch} is partly occasioned by a necessity there was for us to supply our soul-dieurs wants, their recruits for the next fourteen days pay being as yet not comd up to many of them, It is therefore my humble suit to yo^r Lordship in the behalfe of myselfe and officers, that yo^r Lordship will be pleased to issue out yo^r order for fourtene dayes pay already by past, w^{ch} (if yo^r Lordshipp will please to order us) will come very seasonably to us at Captaine Newtons returne; my Lord I shall trouble yo^r Lordshiy no further but only to crave pardon for this my boldnesse, and to subscribe.

my Lord,

yo^r Lordships very faithfull and humble servant,

Hartlepool the 4th of ffel^r 1665.

GEO: BAKER.

*For the right reverend father in God John Lord Bishop of
Durham, these present, with my humble service.*

For the Right Hon^{able} my Lord of Durham these—Durham,

MY LORD,—I received your Lord^{sh} the 6th of this instant and before I got your Lord^{sh} commands, I got an order, from our Lord Lieu^{nt} for the County of Northumberland, for the drawing of that Militia nigh the sea coasts, and att my return from thence, I drew my company from Norham and Islandshire together on Munday last, and immediately carried them to the Holy Island, being as I conceived a convenient place, it being the desire of the inhabitants there, cause some piratts uses that coast and they weer afrajd that in some night they might send men ashore and fire thare towne: my Lord, as for my going to Blith-nook I should have been redy to have gone thither, but that thare is our companie of the militia foot for Northumberland was designed to go thare, and the rest of them lies, betwixt Seaton-Delaval, and Warkworth and the horse fromthense to Bambrough: My Lord, I cannot as yet know of any Treasons in this part of the county, if thare be any, I shall take care to se your Lor^{sh} order put in execution. I must make a complaint to your Lord^{sh} against those that inioys the ffishings of Tweed, who as yet would neuer set forth thar militia; and the yearely renew of it is nigh two thousand pound a yeare: Thay pretend thay weer neuer charged formerly, but I am credible informed to the contrarie. If your Lord^{sh} be pleased to let me receiue your commands, I shall haue them raised, otherwise I humbly conceiue I cannot do it alone, thare being none heare att p'sent but myselfe, what ever commands your Lord^{sh} hath for me it shall be faithfully and punctually obseru'd by, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servant

Feb. the 8th '65

WILL STROTHER.

Indors. " Coll^d Strother l're Feb. 8, 1665. Answered, 16."

For his Hon^{ble}. friend lieut Newton these at his house, Durham.

BROTHER NEWTON,—I thought much to give my Countrymen any cause of complaynt therefore before I made you a returne of the defects I tooke the trouble vpon me to acquainte all y^e petty constables within this division of my Lord Lieut and deputy Lieut^{nt} order made in that behalfe, And I finde none as yet refractory in all the sayd division but Garth the High Constable and John Hobson of Haughton-on-the-side who doth positively refuse to obey any such order as the bearer here off and his partner will inform you. Who according to my captaines com^{and} is come to wayte vpon you for that purpose. My capt^{ain} desires you to procure them warrants of distress from the deputy Lieutⁿ according to act of Parliament and to acquainte my Lord and the deputy Lieutⁿ how obstinate they are: if they be not made examples there will be but small appearance vpon the like occasion. The poore soldiers are forced to goe and seeke there pay whereas indeede they ought to bring it them and oftentimes gets their labour for their paynes and travell and at the best their pay without consideration for their journey. S^r this Garth who ought to shew good examples to the country is most obstinate and an unworthy person as partly you know yon^s selfe all which abuses I hope you will see rectified. S^r I shall trouble you noe further but that I am

y^r loving Brother

Edderley Febr the 24th 1665.

RICH. SMELT.

John Dawsons retorne.

	s.	
Im' He wants for two generall muster days of Garth	07	00
I' And for y' march to Durha' about y' plott	-	- 02 00
I' For a new scabbard	-	- 02 06
I' For fixing his musquett and dressing his Sword	-	- 02 06
I' For a new sword belt	-	- 01 08
For powder which he was forced to buy	-	- 02 06
		<hr/>
		18 02

• He wants a chollar of Bandelenes.

His red coate is made contrary to order.

This bearer hath been 3 tymes to demand this same of Garth and vpon his last demand gave this answer. That he would not obey any such order for his father had lost more then either Darcy Smelt or Tom Newton and he cared not one straw for their orders neither would he pay any thing but what pleased himselfe.

JOHN X DAWSON,
M^rke.

Henry Lowsons retorne for John Hobson off Houghton.

	s.	d.
Att the first meeting at Hartlepoole	-	- 0 6
For dressing his sword and mending his scabbard	-	- 0 10
For 3 tymes demanding it be 6 miles	-	- 2 00
Wants a chollar off Bandelenes		

Vpon his last demand Hobson told him that he cared not for the officers and he would try it out to the last end and that the officers had not any thing to doe with them when they were out of service and that he would pay what he pleased.

Marke.
HENRY X LOWSON,

" A Copy of a l're sent to ye severall captaines of y^e voluntiers appointing a Rendevouz upon y^e 7th of September 1665," by JOHN COUSIN S. T. P. Bishop of Durham.

SIR,

Auckland Castle September 2. 65.

HAVING rec^d com'and from his Ma^{ty} to take care that y^e voluntiers listed under you as their Captain be in readines to serve him: and being desirous to know in what readines and p'sent posture they are in this time of daily informations coming to his Ma^{ty} ag^t disaffected and disloyall persons who intend to disturb his Royall and peaceable governm^t both in Church and State; I have thought it fitt to summon you and yo^r Voluntiers together to shew themselues their horse armour and amunition that I may be the better able to render an account thereof (as I am required to do) both to his Ma^{ty} and to his Royall Highnes the Duke of York whose progress into this Countrey may happen to be sooner than is yet made known to us:—

I do therefore appoint that upon Thursday next by ten of y^e clock in y^e fforenoone you and yo^r company or troop of Voluntiers do present yo'selves at y^e White Crosse upon Spanymoore where I have appointed yo^r ffellow Captines and their troops to meet you at y^e same time: and where wee may advise and agree together upon a time that will be fitt for some or all of you that are Captines to go and p'sent yo'selues in y^e name of y^e Lieuten^t and this County palatine unto his Royall Highnes the Duke of York and there manifest the readines of us all and the p'sent posture wherein wee are to serve his Ma^{ty} and our Countrey under the blessed p'tec'con of Almighty God to whom I commend you and rest

Yo^r very assured ffriend and servant,

DUNELM SS. July 3. 1666.—*By the Lord lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants at a meeting at Aukland Castle, according to the Kings letter dated y^e 25th day of June 1666.*

IT is ordered as followeth, viz^t.

1. That in case of any invasion or sudden alarm by firing of Beacons or otherwise the Friends of this County shall resort to these several posts and places, viz^t.

The Coll' company	}	to the City of Durham
Lieuten ^t Coll' company		
and Capt. Darcy's company		
Capt. Belasys company	}	to Hartlepoole
Capt. Conyers company		
Capt. Bakers company		
Major Belasys company	}	to Sunderland
Capt. Carrs company		
Capt. Hedworths company		
Capt. Fetherstons Troop		to Sunderland
Capt. Halls Troop		to Hartlepoole

And that these Deputy lieutenants shall be p'sent at y^e said severall posts in such cases, viz^t.

S ^r Nicholas Cole	}	at Sunderland
Baron Hilton		
and M ^r Henry Lambton		
S ^r W ^m Blackiston	}	at Hartlepoole
Mr Ra: Davison		
and Mr W ^m Blackiston		

Mr High Sheriffe and all y^e reste of y^e deputy lieutenants, at the City of Durham.

2. That p'sent order be given by y^e High Constables for y^e sufficient watching of these Beacons following and firing as occasions shall require upon the landing of an enemy that is to say

1 Whitebourne Beacon.

2 Wardenlaw

3 Easington

4 Hart.

3. That the severall Companies and troops shall be muster'd, and special notice taken of all defects or insufficiency of men, horse, arms or amunition, and the same account to be delivered in writing by the Muster master forthwith after such musters to y^e L^d lieuten^t and that the act of Parliam^t be put in execution wth y^e utmost rigour.

The Coll^y company and the majors company on monday the ninth instant at Pittington Hall Garth.*

Capt Belasys and Capt Conyers at Sedgfield upon tuesday the tenth being p^rsent Coll^y Tempest Coll^y Byerley Mr Cuthbert Carr and Mr Ra : Davison.

Capt Darceys and Capt Baker's and Lieuten^t Coll's company at Hunwick edge tuesday y^e seventeenth. Coll^y Byerley Mr Cuthbert Carr and Mr Ralph Davison to be p^rsent. }

Capt. Carr and Capt. Hedworths company upon Chester south Moore, wednesday the eighteenth. S^r Nicholas Cole, Baron Hilton and Mr Henry Lambton to be p^rsent. }

The two troops of Horse on thursday y^e nineteenth at y^e white Crose upon Spany-moore, where all y^e deputy lieuten^t are to be p^rsent.

And that warrants be sent out to y^e High Constables to give notice thereof accordingly.

That Capt. Newton provide 6 Barrells of powder or more, and lay them up in Durham Castle to be in a readiness for y^e service of y^e countrey, and for y^e paym^t thereof and other necessities that an order be made for laying on a weekes cess upon y^e Countrey according to act of Parliam^t.

ANTH: BYERLEY

RA: DAVISON

CUTH: CARRE

IO: DURESME

NICHOLAS COLE

JOHN HYLTON

JOHN TEMPEST

* Sir Nicholas Cole Mr Wm Blackiston Mr Henry Lambton to be present at Pittington.

MY LORD—I should be ashamed thus to pass by your Loth and not tender my duty, but really my order was to make all expedition to my garrison and here meeting with S^r Gilbert Gerard; I was glad that he might beare me witnes of my trouble that I did not waite on your Loth. Saturday is appointed to meete att Sunderland, where we shall meete with your Loth's commands by which we ar to direct. I want your commission to act, which when receaued I shall take as a great honor conferrd on him that is

my honord Lord

your most ffaithfull obedient seruant

Durham Thurs: Noon 6th June 67. EDWARD VILLIERS.

*This to the most right honorable the Lord of Duresme
Present most humbly.*

To the right honourable JOHN Lord Bishop of Durham at his Castle at Aukland, these.

Sunderland by the Sea June the 7th 1667.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—We did according to your Lo^{pps} orders draw our companyes and troops to this place on tuesday last the same night and the next day we were entertained wth a most violent storme w^{ch} had a lamentable effect upon a fleet of 100 light colliers coming from the southward and being in sight of this port when the storme began. We heare of many cast away upon this coast and by the judment of able seamen it is doubted that at the least one halfe of them is lost. We thought it our dutyes to give your Lo^{pp} this sad account, but we are in hopes that if the Dutch fleet were out they would run the same risque, and secure us for some time from any attemp from them. We shall be circumspect and diligent in our stations and be

D d

ready to observe what further orders shall be transmitted from your Lordshipp to

your humble servants

WILL' BELASS, JOHN TEMPEST,
RA : HEDWORTH. THO : FETHERSTONHALGH,

Gretham June the 7. 1667

MY LORD,—By the inclosed yower Lord will know Coll: Villers is com down, and no dowtt his Maie^t does susspektt ther desin may be upon thes costes, I haue bin at Hartellpole, wher the ffine compenies ar, and I shall consult with the offisers both towching the strengthening of the wekestt plases, as also what pleases ar mostt requisit ffor them to kipe ther gardes. I am too mett Col: Villers too morrow att Sunderland, with som off the offisers, I shall expektt too hear ffrom yower Lord and yower comands shall be faithfuly obaied by

Your Lord obedientt sone and faithfull seruant

GILB: GERARD.*

Iff yower Lord thinke fitt too haue Col: Villers and the deputi Liff tenants too mette yower Lord upon Monday att Durham, ffor Aukland they can nott be bake the same daie where ther command lies. This I thought fitt too offer too yower Lord consideration.

*For the rightt honorab' my Lord the Bishope off Durham
att his castell at Aukland*

Gretham the 10 off June 1667.

MY LORD,—I am mor then in an ordinary trobell thatt I doo nott wait off yower Lord too Wolsingam butt in case I wear absentt iff the dutch should appear hear, I should be very much sensured ffor itt and mightt hazard the kinges fauer, ffor I writt my Lord Gerard word thatt

* See Surtees' Hist. of Durham, Vol. I. cxiv.

my staie was only too attend the kinges seruic in thes partes, besides too morrow and the next day ar off Grettestt danger the spring tide being the mostt likly time for them too make ther atempt iff they have any desin on thes partes. Pardon my, Mye honored Lord in this my motion, Iff yower Lord goo too Wollsingam nott too declare yower judgment and resolution in thatt bisnes wilstt yower Lord is ther upon the plase, ffor they will be importinatt in ther aplications, hoping yower Lord will mediatt ffor me with my wife I rest

Yower Lord obedient sone and most faithfull servant too comand

GILB: GERARD.

*For the Right honorabell my lord the Bishope off Durham
att his castell in Aukland with my duty present.*

South Sheelds June the 23th 1667.

MAY it please yo' Lordshipp to be certiffyed that this day wee haue had an alarme, and according to yo' Lordshipps direction I made all in reddiennesse, it came about ten of the clocke, or rather after and about two of the clocke I marched wth my company consisting 180: and: od men to the sea side where we staid a while but heareing litle of any of the Hollands men of warr and pceueieing it to be some doubt of severall men that the Hollands ffeate were coming downe to y. Norward by reasin the windes were ffare there being none of them seene at sea except onely a suspition of one or two privateers: I with drew home againe and intend God willing to haue my company in armes againe to morrowe and so intreat yo' Lordshipp that you will be pleased to send by this bearer our commissions that wee may be in better capacitye for to doe service to his Ma^{tie} and Countrie wth my service to yo' Lordshipp I rest.

Yo' serant to be com'anded

RALPH PENDERSON.

*For the right reverend ffather in god John Lord Bishop
of Durham these p'sent—Durham wth speede.*

An Account of certain Arrow Heads, of bronze, found near Mount Caucasus, and communicated to the late Rev. J. D. CARLYLE, by his Excellency M. TOMARA, Ambassador for Russia at Constantinople.— See plate IX.

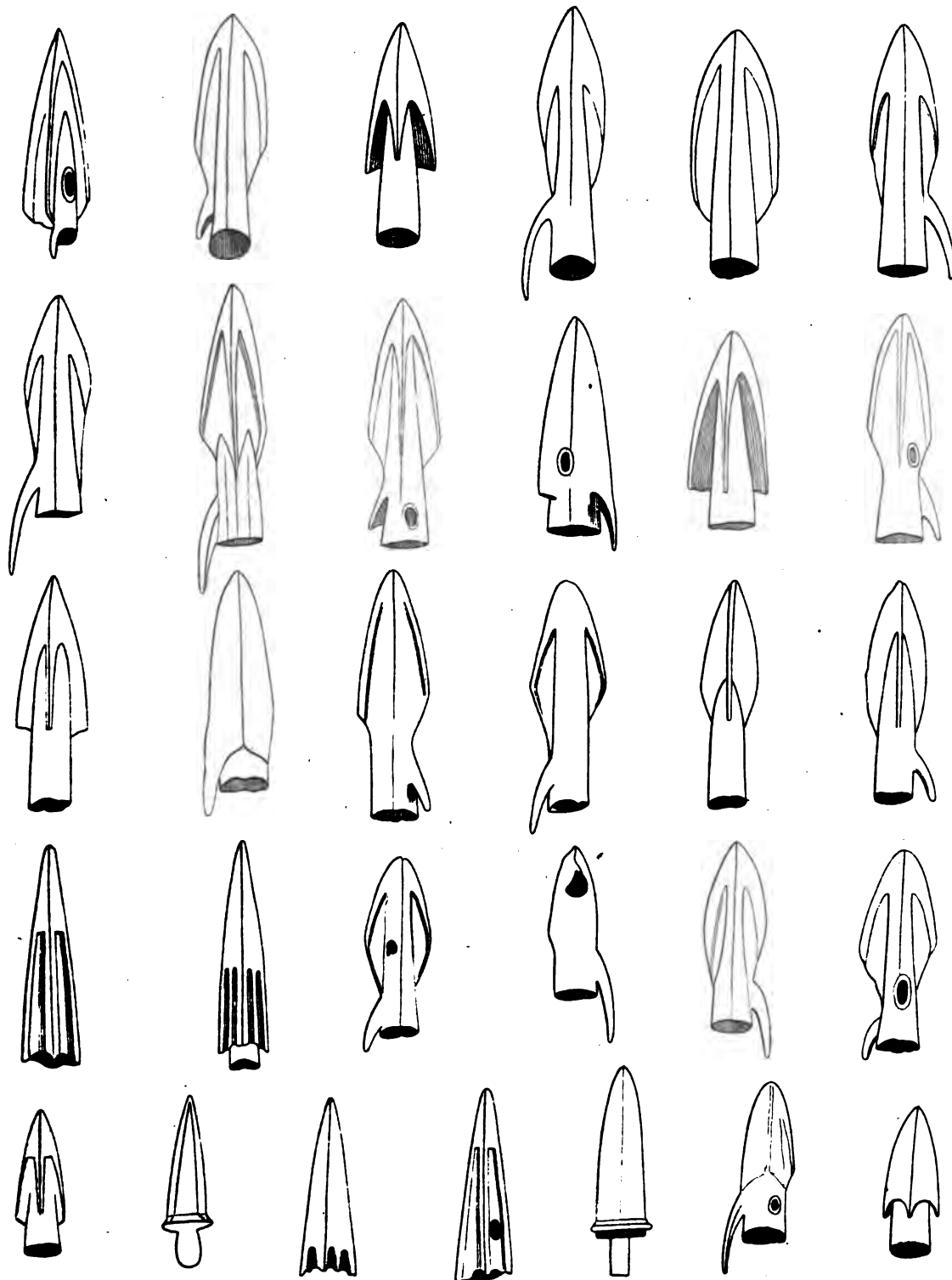
MRS. BEILBY, through Mr. Adamson, the Secretary, presented to the Society in August, 1817, a Roman Ear Ring, an Arrow Head of bronze, and drawings of twenty other Arrow Heads, accompanied with the following memorandum in the hand writing of the late Mr. Beilby:

“ When the late Rev. J. D. Carlyle was at Constantinople, he was told by the Russian Ambassador, that there had been discovered on a large plain, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, such immense quantities of heads of arrows, made of copper, that fourteen furnaces were employed at that time in melting them down. By what nation they had been deposited, or at what time, was equally unknown, as no accounts had been handed down of any battles having been fought there; but even in that way it would be a difficult matter to account for the prodigious quantities found there, or for what purpose they had been accumulated. Mr. Carlyle’s curiosity was so much excited by the account, that in order to gratify it as far as possible, the Ambassador wrote for a small box of them, which he afterwards forwarded to Athens, where Mr. Carlyle then had gone.” The drawings were made by Mr. Beilby from a selection of the originals.

The following account of them, also accompanied with drawings,*

* The plate represents the drawings of the arrow heads made by Mr. Beilby, together with such of those sent by Miss Carlyle as appear to differ from them.

Plate IX

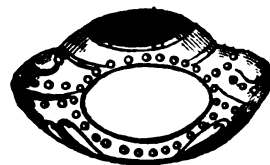


Nicholson. Sculp.

was sent by Miss Carlyle, daughter to the late Mr. Carlyle, in a letter to James Losh, Esq. dated Carlisle, May 15th, 1818 :

“ I think I told you the history of the arrows, as far as we are possessed of it. The existence of a plain at the foot of Mount Caucasus, so thickly covered with arrow heads, that for some years fourteen forges have been employed in melting them, was mentioned to my father by the Russian Ambassador, M. Tomara, at Constantinople in 1800, and on my father's expressing a wish to see specimens of the arrows, the Ambassador sent into Tartary for a box of them. It did not arrive at Constantinople, until after my father had left that place ; and it was conveyed to him at Athens by Mrs. Nisbet. This precluded all further inquiries at the time ; and my father's state of health prevented his investigating the subject after his return to England.

“ I do not recollect whether I added to this account, that Major Leake, who was present when the arrows were mentioned by the Ambassador, saw those in our possession, some years since, and on examining them he said, that he thought they were of Turkish workmanship, and precisely the same as those which are now used by the Turks. This opinion it is but justice to tell, though I fear it is very unfavourable to our theory of the Scythians.”



An Account of a Roman Ring found at Halton Chesters, and of a bas relief Figure of Neptune, found at Carraw, in Northumberland, in a Letter to JOHN ADAMSON, F. A. S. &c. &c. from J. TREVELYAN, Esq. of Wallington.

“THE enclosed are three sketches of a Gold Ring in the possession of Lady Blackett, of Matfen. The north part of Hunnum, now Halton Chesters, having been removed on the 5th of April, 1803, the tenant, Mr. Thomas Bates, discovered the ring in good preservation. A small blue stone, with an engraving of a human figure, habited in a Roman toga, is set in it. Its weight is 8 drachms and 15 grains.

"The other is a sketch of a bas relief, found at Carraw, near the Roman station, Procolitia. Its greatest height is 2 feet 10 inches, and breadth 2 feet 8 inches. It is now at Wallington.

"J. TREVELYAN.

"*Wallington, September 17, 1817.*"



An Account of some Antiquities found at Norby Estate, in Norway, in a Letter from Mr. PETERSON to the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Sec.

IN the county of Laurvig, in Norway, there is an estate called Norby, the property of Gulbrand Rosenberg, on which is a burial ground, which belongs to a very remote period. It consists of numerous barrows, or conical heaps of earth, and forms a parallelogram of about 400 feet long and 150 feet broad.

Several of these barrows have been opened. Some of them for the purpose of removing their materials for making roads, and others with the hope of finding jewels in them, or ornaments formed of the precious metals. In my visit to Norby in the spring of this year, Gulbrand Rosenburg presented me with the articles hereafter enumerated, on condition that I would present them to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle.

1. The fragments of an earthen jar, which were found in the barrow that was first opened. The clay of which it is made is of a very coarse kind, resembling the fire clay used about Newcastle: it is also very slightly burnt, being of a black colour. The inner surface of these fragments is covered with a sooty substance, and the outside of its neck has been stamped all over with a figure of the quarry or diamond form, thus. It was placed near the centre of the barrow, and had a stone, like a hand millstone, put upon it as a cover. The hole of the millstone was stopped with No.

2. A sling stone, which is in the form of an egg, but flattened on one side. It is 4 inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter in its thickest part,

and 2½ in the thickest part of the flatted side. It weighs one pound eleven ounces and a half avoirdupoise, and consists of iron-stone. It is grooved with four lines, dividing it equally into four parts, in a longitudinal direction, and meeting at each end of it. These grooves would seem to have been for the purpose of fastening it to a cord; and I suppose that it has been thrown from the hand and regained by one end of the cord being kept secure, in the same manner as the Morgan Rattler was used in the late Irish rebellion.

After finding the above noticed articles, the barrow was dug through to the level of the adjoining ground; where, from the blackness of the earth, pieces of charcoal, burnt bones, and melted pieces of metal, it was conjectured that the bodies of the person or persons interred in it had been burnt.

I conversed with the person who was present when the urn, No. 1, was found. He is a joiner, of the name of Lind, and lives in the neighbourhood of Norby. He told me that the millstone was thrown aside, and the urn broken by the men who found it, for they tossed it away, disappointed that it contained no treasures.

The same person was also present at the opening of another of these barrows, in which a human skeleton was found. The body did not appear to have been laid in a horizontal, but in a sloping position in the ground, the feet being a little inclined; but this position might probably have been occasioned by some partial sinking of the ground. The whole skeleton was perfectly entire, but fell to pieces as soon as touched. It was only of the ordinary stature of man, and no metals or other antiquities were found with it.

There have also been found in these barrows, at different periods, the following articles:—

3. An axe of steel, seven inches long between its mouth and the back of its helve-hole. Its mouth is four inches broad, and the helve-hole wider next the back than the mouth.

4. A steel spear, fourteen inches long, much blistered and rendered brittle with rust.

5. A very powerful bridle bit of iron, with an iron ring, three inches and a half in diameter, and other appendages of iron attached to each side of it. Also fragments of two other iron rings, having the resemblance of swivels, and some other articles, which may have belonged to the reins of a bridle; but which are much blistered with rust.

6. A bason, seven inches in diameter, and two inches and three-quarters deep, formed out of a sort of stone, which in Norway is still made into vessels, which are used for boiling in, as pipkins are in England. It has had an iron handle fastened upon it, the rivets of which still remain in its sides; and it has also been broken, and re-united with wires and small iron cramps. The stone of which it is made is of a grey colour, shining, and micaceous, and so soft as to be readily turned upon a lathe. In modern books of mineralogy it is called *Lapis ollaris*; in Norway, *Kittlestien*, *Grodstien*, and *Fitstien*; and in England, *Potstone*: and it is probably of the same sort as that which Pliny says was formerly got in Sifano, and which was hollowed out, and turned into vessels used for cooking victuals in, and for culinary purposes; and concerning which there are some curious notices in De Laet on Gems, collected from Gesner, Agricola, Scaliger, and others.

ERIC PETERSON.

Newcastle upon Tyne, 7th June, 1820.

An Account of a sepulchral Inscription, discovered at Little Chesters, in the County of Northumberland, by the Rev. ANTHONY HEDLEY, A. M.

(Read January 3d, 1821.)

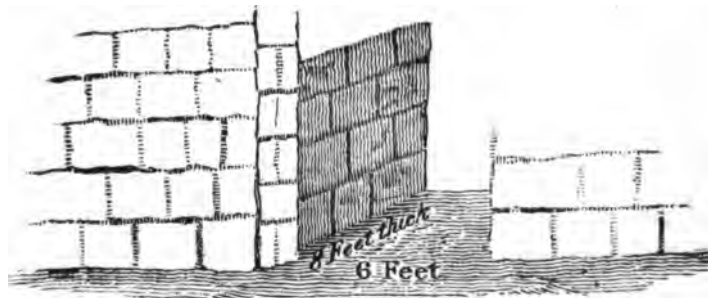
THE Roman Station of Little Chesters, (Vindolana) though mentioned in the Notitia as one of the stations *per lineam Valli*, is distant from it upwards of a mile. It is, however, little more than half a mile from Hadrian's Vallum, which runs here at a considerable distance southward from the wall of Severus. It is situated upon the Via Vicinalis, which took the shortest direction from Walwick Chesters (Cilurnum) to Carrvorrán (Magna.) This ancient military way, in many places still very perfect, is, with slight occasional repair, part of the township road, and is called by the country people the *Causeway*. A Roman mile stone, six feet high, but without any inscription, is now standing upon it about fifty yards east from the station, and twelve or fourteen years ago, another was standing a mile to the west. Could the *precise* spot where the latter stood be determined, and the road accurately measured between the two, might it not assist in settling the contested point about the length of the miles expressed by the numbers of the Itinerary?

Vindolana being a British appellation, and signifying in that language, the *fort on the height*, was perhaps originally a British post.—Situating on the southern confines of the territory of the Ottadini, it was probably one of a chain of fortresses erected by them against their powerful neighbours, the Brigantes. There is reason to believe that it was taken possession of, and garrisoned, with many of the neighbouring stations, by the Romans, when Agricola brought this part of the island into subjection. An inscription found here, and mentioned by Horsley, seems to refer to Trajan, the predecessor of Hadrian, who

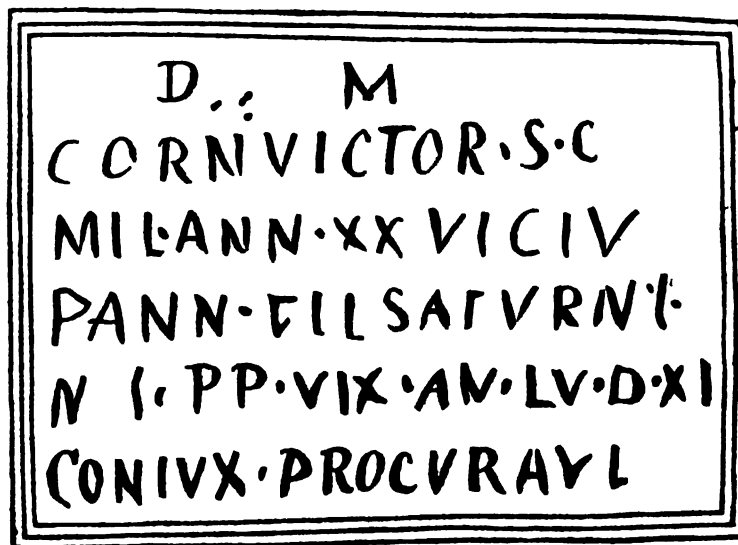
died A. D. 117. It is quite certain, at least, from another inscription, mentioning Calphurnius Agricola, who was *proprætor* under Marcus Aurelius, that there was a garrison here about A. D. 165. And we know from the *Notitia*, which is supposed to have been compiled in the time of the second Theodosius, viz. about A. D. 445, and immediately before the withdrawing of the Roman forces from Britain, that it was then garrisoned by the *Cohors quarta Gallorum*. It seems, therefore, to have been occupied by the Romans during the whole of their stay in the northern part of our island.

Little Chesters became my property in 1814, by purchase, from the heirs of Mr. William Lowes, who is mentioned by Wallis as the proprietor in his time.

In the spring of 1818, the tenant having occasion for stones to build a fence, had recourse to some *rudera* near the ramparts of the station, which (*horresco referens*) had, for time immemorial, been the common quarry of the farm, and partly of the neighbourhood, for almost every purpose for which stone is wanted. On digging in front of its east entrance, where the ground slopes down very swiftly to a rivulet, called Bardon Burn, his labourer discovered a flight of stone steps, leading up this declivity, to the entrance itself. On clearing away the rubbish about the gateway, the wall on the left was found perfectly entire to the height of six feet, and about eight feet in width, the usual thickness of the wall of Severus. The entrance was about six feet wide, and



had the ordinary bolt hole and cheeks for the door worked in the masonry. The wall on the right had been thrown down nearly to its foundation, and among its ruins was found a monumental stone in excellent preservation, now in the collection at Wallington. It is an oblong square, 26 inches by 21, and perfectly devoid of ornament, excepting a plain moulding in relief, as a kind of bordering. Its back is rugged and unhewn, so that it must have been built up in a wall.— It contains the following inscription, in letters so clear and distinct, and so little obliterated by exposure to the weather, that it seems to have been set up not long before the overthrow and abandonment of the station.



Which I read thus:—

DIS MANIBUS,
 CORNELIUS VICTOR, SIGNIFER COHORTIS
 MILITAVIT ANNOS VIGINTI SEX, CIVIS

PANNONCUS, FILIUS SATURNI-
NI PIENTISSIME VIXIT ANNOS QUINQUAGINTA QUINQUE DIES
UNDECIM
CONJUX PROCURAVI.

There is some difficulty in the letters S. C. Gruter, in one instance, renders them Sibi Curavit, and nothing is more certain than that the Romans often made preparations for their own sepulchral monuments during their life time, as we learn from the frequently recurring expressions "vivus fecit sibi"—"sibi vivus ponendum curavit," &c.: but in our inscription, the "conjux procuravi," about the meaning of which there can be no doubt, seems to be at variance with this supposition. I am inclined to agree, therefore, with an antiquarian friend, who thinks that the letters in question denote the military rank or office of Cornelius Victor, and I know of nothing for which they can stand, except the reading I have ventured to assign. Though the eagle was the general standard of the legion, it may be inferred from several passages in the classics,* that each cohort had its particular signum, as well as its own signifer. The following instance, referred to below from the Commentaries, is very express. In the engagement between Cæsar and the Nervii we are told "*quartæ cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso,*" &c. Cornelius Victor, a native of Pannonia or modern Hungary, and who had served twenty-six years, might therefore die, *signifer*, or standard bearer, of the Cohors quarta Gallorum.

The labourer, never, I believe, consulting his employer, tore up, without any compunction, the fine flight of steps leading to the gateway, and likewise rased to its very foundation, the wall on the right. Had he fortunately left every thing as he found it, the discovery would have presented one of the most gratifying sights to the Antiquary, now to be met with on the line of the wall. There is now,

* Cæs. B. G. ii. 25. Liv. xxvii. 15. Tac. Ann. i. 18. Hist. i. 41.

alas! little to be seen, and excepting in two or three, I am afraid not much more to be discovered in any of them. It is melancholy to reflect that these eighteen immense magazines of Roman Antiquities should have been almost completely rifled, and no one good collection formed of their contents, as a great proportion of the articles that have been dug up has, if not destroyed by the ignorance of their chance discoverers, either perished through neglect, or been divided among a great many private museums, as well as a few public ones in different parts of the kingdom. And it is strange, that from the time of Camden, who first explored them with an antiquarian eye, down to our own, nothing, or next to nothing, has been done towards systematically clearing the ground plan of one of these stations. Might not a portion of the funds of this Society be usefully and legitimately employed in an attempt of this kind? Great Chesters, Housesteads, and Risingham in Reedwater, each still afford a promising field for this kind of research. Half a dozen labourers for a fortnight, at an expense of not more than five pounds, would clear away much of the rubbish from any one of these stations, and not only discover, it is to be hoped, many curious and precious fragments of antiquity, but throw a very interesting and desirable light on the stationary economy of the Romans, and on the form and arrangement of their castra stativa.

ANT. HEDLEY.

Summer Hill, January 2d, 1821.



An original Letter of the Reign of Henry VIII. without the date of the year, in the Chapter House, Westminster, with observations thereon, in a Letter from JOHN CALEY, Esq. F. S. A. &c. &c. to the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

Gray's Inn, London, 21st March, 1821.

DEAR SIR,

IN arranging some papers of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, under my custody, in the Chapter House, Westminster, I met with a letter of which I inclose you a copy; and if you think it sufficiently interesting to be laid before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, I beg you will present it to them with my respects.

The writer, William Lord Dacre (commonly called Lord Dacre of the North), was the eldest son of Thomas Lord Dacre, who by

marriage with Elizabeth, cousin and heir to Ralph Lord Greystoke, obtained that estate.

William Lord Dacre, according to Dugdale,* succeeded his father in 17. Henry VIII. and, by the title of William Lord Dacre of Gillesland and Greystoke, had special livery of all the lands of his inheritance.

In the 22d of this reign he was one of the Lords who subscribed the letter sent to Pope Clement the Seventh, intimating that, in case he did not comply with King Henry the Eighth's desires, in the matter of the divorce from Queen Katherine of Spain, his supremacy in this realm was not likely to be long allowed. †

This Lord was, in the 26th year of this reign, accused of treason by Sir Ralph Fenwyke, Knt. and one Musgrave, and was tried at Westminster in that year, but acquitted. He died in 6th Elizabeth, leaving a numerous issue. There is no date of the year when this letter was written, but this point may, perhaps, be ascertained from its contents. I have caused a fac-simile to be made of his subscription to it, and I also inclose to you an impression, on wax, of his seal to the letter sent to Pope Clement the Seventh.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully your's,

JOHN CALEY.

Rev. John Hodgson, &c. &c. &c.

The following is LORD DACRE's Letter.

Pleasit your Highnes to be advertised.

The King of Scotts haith bene all along his Northwest Bordours begynnyng at Glasgew, and fromethens to the Towne of Aire, and so to

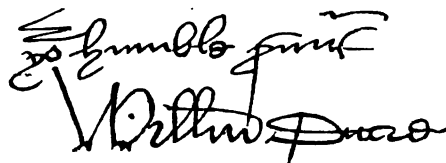
* Baronage, vol. ii. page 24.

† The original letter is in the Chapter House, Westminster, and is printed in Rymer.

Sainct Niniains in Gallowaye, and upon Fridaye at Night last being the xxvij daye of June he was in Dumfreis being xxliij myles frome Carlisle And in his comyng to Dumfreis he vieved and sawe the thre grete peces of Ordinannce brought by the Duke of Albany (when he shulde have comen to Carlisle and then retorned to Warke) w' two Hundrethe shott of Irne for the same Gonnes. And upon Satturdaye the xxviij day he came to Loughemaban viij myles athisside Dumfreis and ther remaigned all Sondaye and upon Mondaye the last daye he retorned Homewardes to Peblis and so to Striveling. There was in his companye not above xxx psonnes and noon of his Counsaill except his Treasourer and w' hym the Lardes Flemyng and Avendale.

Pleas it yo' Highnes also ther is a Gentelman of Wailes his Wif and viijth psonnes with theim Landed at Sainct Niniains afore the king cam thidder in a Barge who names hym self uncle to Ryse of Wailes.

Pleas it also your Highnes upon Fridaye laste the Scottsmen of West Tevidale to the number of foure Hundrethe psonnes cam into Beawcasteldale and ther haithen taken frome your Highnes Subiects and tennte and my poore tennts ther sevin score Hede of catell and Brint vj Houses. I have writtin unto your Grace commissioners for reformation thereof. And the Holy Goost p'sue your Highnes. At Graistok the Second Daye of Julye.



[Indorsed]

To the Kings Highnes my Sou'ain Lorde.

Haist post haist wth diligence.

At the bottom of the letter, in another hand, is written

MY LORD DACRE.

Soci

Some Account of an ancient Plan of Tynemouth, in the County of Northumberland, in a Letter from the Rev. JOHN HODGSON to JOHN ADAMSON, Esq. Secretary.

DEAR SIR,

I VERY readily comply with your request to give some account of the plan of Tynemouth, which the Society has ordered to be published. The Society's attention was drawn to it and another plan of the same place, about two years since, by the Rev. John Smith, Vicar of Newcastle, from the following notices of them in vol. iii. p. 310, of the new edition of the *Monasticon*:—

“ I. What this Priory must have been in its best days may be, in some degree, gathered from a “ Platte” or plan of the peninsula on which it stands, made in the time of Queen Elizabeth, “ after 160 fote to one inche,” still preserved in the Cottonian manuscript AUGUSTUS I. vol. ii. art. 6. From this we learn, that, entering from Tinmouth town over a wide moat and “ draw-brydge,” stood “ the Ward House ;” with what was called “ the Vtter Forte” to the right ; a neck of land projecting from which, and rounding off parallel with that part of the peninsula on which the abbey itself stood, formed “ the Priour's Haven.” A little to the left of the draw-bridge already mentioned was “ the Gate House,” in the way from which to “ the Great Court,” right and left, were the “ Kylne” and “ Constable Lodgyng,” the “ Backhouse,” and “ Mylne.” To the left, near the brink of the cliff, was the “ Gonnors Lodge” and “ the Pultre Yard :” then “ the North Walk,” with two barns, a barn yard, a “ garner”, three sets of

stables, and a cow house. In the centre of the area which formed the complete site was the "Abbey kyrke," to the east of which was "the Gardyn place." The west end of the abbey church, somewhat narrower than the main building, as being apparently without ailes, is marked as the "parysh kirk." North of this, apparently fronting to the Great Court already named, was the "Priors Lodgyng." The "Chapter House" and "Dortor," or dormitory, (continuing from which was the edifice named "Lords Lodgyng") adjoined the south side of the choir of the abbey church, forming the east side of the cloister; part of the parish church formed the north, the "Common Aule" the west, and the "Newe Aule" the south sides. South of the common hall were the "Boterye Aule and Ketchyn:" and then "the South Court" occupying the remaining space to the cliffs which overlooked the Prior's haven. North of the buttery hall and kitchen was "the Ender Cowrt," with the "New Lodgyng" and "Bru house." The whole precinct of the abbey was surrounded by a strong wall: that part of the site towards Tinmouth, being unprotected by the sea, appears to have been rendered doubly strong by a wall and ditch. Adjoining the ditch to the south west of the town of Tinmouth were the "olde Fish Pounds; now an olde dyke."

"II. Another "Platte," or Plan of Tinmouth, a kind of bird's eye view, including the Castle, occurs in the same volume of the Cottonian manuscripts, art. 7, but without any explanation of the different parts of the building."

The Society has also been at the expence of procuring a fac-simile of this plan; but as it is more rudely drawn than the other, it has not been thought worthy of publication. It has the admeasurement of places upon it, extends across the Tyne to "Jarrow Abbey;" and appears to have been drawn for the purposes of some engineer, who was probably engaged in fortifying the place. It may be curious for the Society to know that the same volume of the Cottonian Manuscripts contains a large "Plan of Bamborough, 20 foot to the Inche;"

a rude bird's eye view of Newcastle and Gateshead ; and a well executed plan of the course of the Tyne from Newcastle to Tynemouth. This latter is on vellum, and has a " Scale contaynyne : 2 : English Miles." In one corner is written " 28 fadom." It is coloured with green, red, and gold, and has a neat border of the same colours. The depth of the river is put down in several places, and this explanation given:—" This River hathe in the Enteringe : 2 : barres or shovlids, and is the proporcione with the depthe figured at low water. In springe tides it hoyeth : 12 : foote and in neppe tydes : 8 : fotte, verye nedfolle it is that there were at every pointe of sand or Rockes a becone or a boye, for it hoye watter, bothe sands and rockes are under watter, even to the mane lande." The places marked on the south side of it are: " Soothe Shills, Javeltre, Leden hoke, Sainte Jarmans, Newe Balliste Kye, Gateside." On the north side: " Tilmouth (Tynemouth) abby, The pointe of Sparhavck, Muskel scalp, North Shills, Sc .tte Sand, Flatter nesse, Longreche, Hauks Bill, Saint tan-tones, Biker Sand, Saint Lorance, Balliste Kye, Bornne, Stonne Shore, Newcastell uppon Tine."

It may be necessary to remark that the annexed plate is reduced one-third from the original size, and is on a scale of 240 feet to one inch.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly your's,

JOHN HODGSON.

Extract from a German Pamphlet, intitled "A Tour along the Devil's Wall," published as a Specimen of a projected History of Bavaria, by J. ANDREAS BUCHNER, Professor at the Royal Bavarian Lyceum at Regensburg, translated by the Rev. HUGH SALVIN.

THE fortification-line of the Romans upon the left bank of the Danube, called the Devil's Wall, may be reckoned among the great works of this people, hitherto unique in the history of the world. The Emperor Hadrian, who during his glorious reign from the year 118—137, visited all the provinces of his empire, to provide upon the spot whatever might be necessary, first projected the plan of this undertaking.

Every where, at the extremities of his dominions, where the inroads of the barbarians were not opposed by rivers or other natural boundaries, skilfully constructed walls or mounds arose at his command. One such was built in Britain, eighty Roman miles long, from one sea to the other, from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle in Cumberland. The Emperors Antoninus and Septimius Severus caused two others to be built, the latter thirty-two Roman miles in length, on the borders between Scotland and England.

The Britons have left nothing undone to make known to the world the remains of these wonders of their land, as they themselves call them, in expensive publications, adorned with the most costly plates. Who does not know the labours of a Camden, a Buchanan, Alexander Gordon, and others? And yet their three walls taken together scarce equal the length of that, which, at this day more complete than the British was three hundred years ago, runs through the middle of Germany, and

every where displays the remains of Roman greatness. The Britons could only discover fragments: our Nordgau Woods exhibit this great Roman work in an unbroken line of more than one hundred and fifty Roman miles from 5—6 foot thick, in many places still 5 above and 3—4 under the surface of the ground. With its 150 towers and upwards, it passes along over the steepest mountains, over the most frightful abysses, through rivers and lakes, through the thickest woods: 1500 years have not been able to efface the vestiges of these towers, more than 50 of which still rise above the wall, often to the height of 12 feet. On its inner side, upon mountains, on the banks of rivers, and the public roads, are found large remains of castles and camps, and innumerable barrows cover the ashes of those, who on this boundary fell in battle for their sinking country. A work of this description, above all others connected with our native land, merits the especial regard of the antiquary. Such a passage in our history would richly reward his researches concerning its builders, its destination, direction, size, original and present form, the public roads connected with it, and the forts, camps, and colonies lying along their track.

I. That after the time of Hadrian, the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and his son Caracalla; and further, Alexander Severus and Maximinus, and others, laboured in prosecution of this work, to make it a bulwark against the incursions of the Germans, is no unfounded supposition; but the person who brought it to completion, and gave it that form, which is exhibited in its remains, was undoubtedly the Emperor Probus, between the years 276—280 after Christ. To him we must ascribe the masonry and the towers, probably also the roads, many castles and colonies. He gave to the Alemanni, who were the soldiers upon the frontiers, this land which had been taken away from them, upon condition that, in future, all the sons of such proprietors of the land, as soon as they had reached the age of eighteen, should enter into the Roman service, and defend the borders against the enemy. Under the protection of these bulwarks, the

descendants of these border soldiers were enabled for 100 years longer to cultivate the fruitful lands, which stretch from Kellheim along the left bank of the Danube by Ingolstadt, Donaworth, Lauingen and Ulm, towards the south; then through Riess to Gunzenhausen, Dunkelspiel and Ellwang. The many Roman roads, of which the traces are to be seen here more abundantly than elsewhere, the extraordinary number of barrows, camps and forts, a quantity of Roman coins, rings, gems, statues, armour, sepulchral urns, and other pieces of antiquity, which have been found here in abundance for hundreds of years, and are still found, prove that in these regions, so highly favoured by nature, a numerous body of Romans had kept up a well-appointed establishment.

2. The original destination of this work was not so much defence, but rather to determine the boundaries of the Roman territory, and to form a line of separation from the Germans. With this intention the Emperor Hadrian caused a line to be drawn, from the place where the Danube ceased to be a natural line of defence, and strong piles of wood to be driven into the earth along its banks, near which ran a trench and a continued mound of earth, in the manner of a wall. The Germans called this boundary line (*Pfahl*) or the "Stakes," from the materials of which it was composed. The name has been retained to this day; *Pfahl*, *Pfahlwerk*, *Pfahlranken*, *Pfahlrain*, *Pfalhecke* are the expressions by which the inhabitants in the neighbourhood denote this work: the name "Devil's Wall," is not the primitive name, but had its origin in the superstition of the middle ages. Even many neighbouring districts, meadows, fields, wells, brooks, woods, &c. have borrowed their name from the *Pfahl*, or mound of Stakes, and either begin or end with this syllable. It also serves, even at this day, the purpose for which it was originally intended, as a line of demarcation between two places. Afterwards, on the decline of the Roman power, when the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Buri, and other neighbouring German tribes broke through the line of wooden piles, and ravaged the Roman territory, a

wall built of stone succeeded to the mound of stakes, the boundary line became a line of defence, and assumed the form of a large, well defended fortification, with towers, camps, castles, trenches, palisadoes. That it was not the work of one year, nor even of a century, but the result of the continued exertions of the Roman legions and cohorts under several Emperors, will not be considered as an absurd supposition by him, who has inclination and opportunity to take a view of the prodigious ruins of it which still remain. It was remarked by a peasant, a hundred years ago, to Döderlein, who had the merit of being the first to make enquiries about it, that its size and extent was so great, as to exceed the power of man to execute; for that even to remove the superfluous rubbish, would require the labour of all the men and beasts of burthen in the surrounding country for years.

The Emperor Probus put the finishing hand to it; he built camps and castles, even beyond the line of the mound, upon the enemy's territories, in the most convenient situations. Fortresses also were erected on his own side of the line, along the great road, and camps with mound and ditch; forming a second line behind the first. The traces of this road, and of these camps and castella are not only not destroyed, but considerable ruins of them are still visible. The Peutingerian table, composed in those times, points out several of them. If Clarenna is the Drakuina of Ptolemy, and this, as there is much reason to suppose, is the modern Ehingen on the Danube; it is more than probable that the eleven stations between Abusina and Clarenna were castella placed in succession upon the road along the mound. The scale of miles given in the table, corresponds pretty exactly with the length of the road lying along the now well ascertained direction of the mound.

3. The whole line of the fortification has been laid down and executed not by chance, but according to a well digested plan. Beginning, middle, and end—Celeusum, Medianis, and Ad Lunam, are nearly at equal distances, 50—60 Roman miles from Augsburgh, the

point from which it seems to have been projected. Celeusum, more properly Kellhusum—from the Greek word *κελλε* and the Celtic *hu-sum*, lies three Roman miles west of Abensburg, close to the Danube, 400—500 paces above the village of Enning: traces of the castellum or camp, which the Romans constructed here, to protect the passage over the Danube, are still visible on the right bank. That on the opposite side, and also a part of the road, have been washed away by the waters of the river. The inhabitants of this country, from that time till now, have always been called by the name of Kellesgauer. A little brook, which breaks out from a mountain above Oetling, pure as silver, and cold as ice, with so much force, that in the space of its short course, hardly an hour long, it drives six mills, is called Kellsbach: the city itself, which the Romans probably built on the angle where the Altmühl runs into the Danube, is named Kellhusum (Kelheim) the landing place for the ships, which sail down the Danube, and the first point of transit from Regensburg across the river. The fortifications which they constructed for the defence of this place were enormously large; it was inclosed by five trenches (the two outermost of which were each two Roman miles in length, and two rivers. Even at this day, after the lapse of 1500 years, the outermost trench to the N. W. which extends 5 Roman miles from the waters of the Altmühl to those of the Danube, is 50—60 feet high, and 20—30 feet broad. Over against it, on the right bank, on a hill, at whose foot the monastery of Weltenberg lies in a wild romantic solitude, similar constructions are visible. Aventinus places a city upon this height, and gives it the name of Valentia, and further above a second, the well-known Artobriga of Ptolemy. The mound of stakes begins a Roman mile above Valentia, and five miles still further above, over against the Artobriga of Aventinus, the station Celeusum, or the modern village of Enning, the Roman road begins beside the trench which is still visible, and is continued along its banks.

4. The mound of stakes, which we shall henceforth call the Roman

boundary wall, takes at its origin, close by the banks of the stream, a direction towards the N. W. and declines from the meridian at an angle of only 70 degrees. It proceeds in this direction 58 Roman miles, and is not deflected by any natural impediment, however great, from a straight line, over the modern districts of Altmanstein, Zandt, Küpfenberg, Erkertshosen, Raitenbuch, Oberdorf, Gündersbach, Gundelshalm, Gunzenhausen, and Löllendorf, through all of which it runs. No mountain is so high, no abyss so steep, no wood so thick, no morass so profound, through which it does not penetrate. After having passed over a space of 58 Roman, or about 12 German miles, it makes the first angle, turns round, and takes the direction to the S. W. making an angle with the meridian of 60 degrees to the South, towards Eyberg and Deneloh, and over the Margraviate of Weyer to Hammerschmiede and Kreithof: it leaves Heselberg and the beautiful village of Ehingen lying at its foot, about a mile to the South, and continues its course in a straight line, cutting the mill of Untermüchelbach not far from the town of Möncksroth, across the Bavarian frontier into the Wirtemberg territory; after which it passes, as one may conjecture, through Pfahlheim, Ellwangen, Gmünd, and Göppingen, towards Albe over against Urach, and thence to the sources of the Danube at Rottweil, in the neighbourhood of which ruins betray the former existence of a great Roman city.

5. That a deep trench ran along the wall on its northern side, may not only be concluded from other circumstances, but it is yet to be seen in many places. When the wall was broken through and destroyed by the Germans in the fifth century, the stones were employed to fill up the trenches; and therefore it is not possible, from the present remains, to determine, with certainty, its breadth, nor to speak of its height. I found it in many places 4—6, in others 10—12 feet broad. We may therefore perhaps conclude that its medium breadth was 6—7 feet, and that its height, as corresponding to this breadth, might have been from 18 to 24. According to the form of the ground its founda-

tions are two or three feet deep ; in many places I found it sunk in the earth from 5 to 6 feet. Any one who examines it may convince himself, that it is built in the usual manner of masonry, and its stones cemented together with a kind of mortar. The foundations of the round towers, projecting on both sides, I often found to the height of 6—12 feet. The internal circumference of the stone work was about 60—80 feet, the external as many paces. The traces of most of these towers have been annihilated by the revolutions of centuries, which have been employed in the destruction of this work. Yet I often found two in succession, and always at the distance of half an hour (or two miles); once even three at the same distance, whence I conclude that all these towers, (whether intended for observation or battle,) stood at the regular interval of one Roman mile. Barrows on both sides of the wall, both the German and Roman, meet the eye in great numbers, generally in the neighbourhood of the place, where stood the ruins of a camp, or fortified tower. That the Romans built camps and fortresses in advantageous situations can admit of no doubt. The remains of a camp are visible close at the beginning of the wall, not far from the bed of the Danube southward towards Hienheim, on eminences which the ploughshare of the peasant has not been able to annihilate in 1500 years: still more distinct and larger on Michel's Mount, near Küpfenberg. Roman castella stood at Schlossberg and Altmanstein. I have also found large remains of such castella in several places, as for instance, not far from the village of Petersbuch, by the entrance into the wood; near Raitenbuch, near the linden tree at Höhberg, upon the Weil, at Hammerschmiede, &c. Their extent, their position upon hills, on streams, and at the confluence of rivers, evidently shews that they were more than private buildings, that they were camps provided with garrisons.

6. Fortresses, still larger than these, lay behind upon the road, which ran at some distance from the wall. As the wall with its castella and towers formed the first and outward, so this formed a second line of

defence. The road came from Regensburg and Abensberg, and ran, as we have already said, by Celeusum, two Roman miles above the beginning of the wall across the Danube; thence in a rectilinear direction to Oetling, where the enormously thick walls of a castle, sunk in the marshy ground of Kell, indicate its origin from the times of the Romans. From Oetling its direction passes through Teusing to Kösching, which is two miles distant from the point of passage over the Danube. Aventinus found in the castle three stones with inscriptions, one of which is older than the year of Antoninus Pius's death. He names the place Caesarea, without giving his reason: but since the Germanicum of the [Peutingerian] table agrees with this country, I believe one may with more probability place this station (i. e. Germanicum) here, and transplant Vetonianis to Pfinz (ad Pontes) 12 Roman miles from Germanicum, upon the river Altmühl. The coincidence of the distance, the straight direction of the road over Hepperg and Bemfeld to this place, the evident remains of a Roman fortress in the same place, and a district in the neighbourhood, which at this day bears the similar name of Wimpasing, are the reasons which determine me to this conclusion. Near Pfinz, the road, without deflecting in the least from a straight line, takes a direction towards the village of Breit, and after passing forward three German or 14 English miles, in the district of Raitenbuch it approaches to the wall, and in the district of Függenstall, not far from Oellingen is at last united with it, after dividing itself into two branches. At the place, where it sends an arm westward past Wildsburg to Weissenburg, which is about 7 Roman miles distant, are to be seen considerable ruins of a fortress, to all appearance of great size. I consider them to be the remains of Buricianis. The distance from Pfinz to Oberhöchstadt, from which they are only one Roman mile, agrees tolerably well with the 18 Roman miles of the table, but entirely so with the position of Weissenburg, and still better with that of the old castle, which is a Roman mile off. The road which leads to it takes a direction full west. For the space of about 5 Roman miles it is in a high state of

preservation. We know that the Burgundii, and their neighbours the Burii have come into this country; is it not likely that the Romans may have given their name to the piece of land which they took from them, and the castle built upon it? A stone inscription, discovered at Abdach, bears testimony of a war with the Burii; they opposed Marcus Aurelius in the war against the Marcomanni. But we should grossly deceive ourselves if we supposed this emperor to be the builder of Buricianis. That the Romans had great establishments here, and especially in the neighbourhood of Weissenburg, is proved by the numerous fortresses, the foundations of which exist every where, by the great number of barrows in the vicinity of the old castle, and the Roman monuments at Emenzheim, Treuchtling and other places.—Next in the table follows Iciniacum 7 Roman or 1½ German miles from Buricianis. The distance agrees with Theilenhofen upon the Weil, and the neighbouring castle of Weissenberg. Numerous tumuli, fragments of urns, vessels, arms, and coins, which are constantly found here, announce the former existence of a Roman colony in this spot. Whether the road ran from thence along the wall, or over the district of Weimersheim, I cannot venture to decide, as all the pains I took to discover its traces from Weissenberg were ineffectual. But that it united with it at Gunzenhausen, and with it passed over the Altmühl, is the more probable, because the wall from hence becomes so broad, that one may suppose it to serve both for the road and the boundary line of defence. A castle stood on the hill near Gunzenhausen, not far from Sommerkeller; and from this circumstance the wood still bears at this day the name of Burgstall (or Castle-stead); and the existing burrows and other antiquities found on the spot attest its Roman origin. It was intended to cover the passage over the Altmühl. It was the central point of the whole line of fortification, and it is very probable, that it was that station, which the table calls Medianis—the middle of the second line: for 1 German mile (or 5 Roman miles) towards the north-west, near Löllendorf, lies the turning point or angle of the

first line or boundary wall. From thence to the ruins near Hammerschmied, not far from Tambach, are exactly eleven Roman miles; I can therefore hardly err, if I consider the Roman camp, which, according to accounts which may be relied upon, was found here, as the *Losodica* of the table. Seven Roman miles farther, on the spot where the wall passes the Sulz, stood *Septemiaci*, and at an equal distance farther on, the castle of Opie, which defended the passage over the Wernitz into the district of Willburgstetten. The succeeding station of *Aquila* lies in the kingdom of Würtemberg. I dare not decide upon its exact position, till I have visited the country. If it lay upon the boundary wall, the curious enquirer might find its ruins in the district of Gemünd, perhaps near Pfalbrunn; but if, as I think is more probable, it lay upon a road situated more to the south, we must look for it in the district of Aalen, and more especially near Wasser Alfingen, on account of the resemblance of the name. The station *Ad lunam*, 20 Roman miles off, we must seek for upon the mountain, which the Roman Historian calls by its present name, the *Alba*, and at a point, 52 Roman miles from Augsburg and 22 from Ehingen, near Geislinger Steig. In the mean time, till actual inspection proves the contrary, we must believe that the boundary wall itself does not decline from the straight line, but takes the direction towards Urach, in the neighbourhood of the Neckar.

7. Whoever casts an eye upon the whole line of the mound hitherto described, and of the *castella* connected with it, and situated behind it, will soon satisfy himself, for what use it was intended. They formed a large advanced work upon the river which the Romans looked upon as the boundary of their empire, and which they did not consider as sufficiently deep and broad for this purpose, between its sources and the district of Regensburg, and therefore strengthened it with a double line of defence. Within it they had planted colonies in the places intended for agriculture, forming a military population appointed to defend it. As it can be shewn that many of these were established in the time of the Antonines, I might ascribe almost the whole of the second line to

Marcus Aurelius, and suppose that he built it during the war against the Marcomanni—from A. D. 167 to 180, as a defence against the German tribes leagued against him.

8. Instead of pay, the soldiers, as we before observed, had portions of land allotted to them, from the cultivation and produce of which they were to maintain their families. This arrangement would serve as an additional motive to them to exert their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The biographer also of the Emperor Probus relates that here, on this boundary, the contest was carried on with unremitting obstinacy—*nec cessatum est unquam pugnari*.

The names of these colonies are not distinctly pointed out by any Roman historian. We can find out many of them from the numerous Roman antiquities, of which this district is a rich mine, and from the traces of the bye-ways, which are still visible.

The colonists lived dispersed through the district, in granges, hamlets, and perhaps in villages, as the nature of their business required. We may reasonably however conclude that they had points of union, and formed various associations; the bond of union was probably the same protecting divinity, and a temple built for his service. If we allow this position to be well founded, we may assume, that in Rætia beyond the Danube there were at least four large colonies; of which one had its point of union at Nassenfels, a second at Lauingen, a third at Weissenberg, and a fourth at Heselberg.

Gateshead, Nov. 20th, 1821.

NOTES.

Page 219, l. 18.—Æl. Spartianus in vitâ Hadriani c. 12.—Per ea tempora—124. p. c.—et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepi fundatis, jactis, atque connexis, barbaros separavit—germanis regem constituit—c. 11. Britanniam petiit, in quâ multa correxit, murum que per octoginta millia passuum primum duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.

Capitolin. in vitâ Antonini Pii c. 5. Britanniam per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespicio, submotis barbaris, ducto.

Spartian. in vit. S. Severi, c. 18. Britanniam, quod maximum imperii ejus decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit.—Eutrop. l. v. c. 9. says,—“vallum per xxxii. millia passuum à mari ad mare deduxit.”

Page 221, l. 12.—Vopiscus in vitâ Probi, c. 13. Et cum jam in nostrâ ripâ, imo per omnes Gallias (Alamani) securi vagarentur, cæsis propè quadringentis millibus, qui Romanum occupaverant solum, reliquias ultrâ Nieum fluvium et Albam removit. Tantum his prædæ barbaricæ tulit, quantum ipsi Romanis abstulerant: contra urbes Romanas et castra in solo barbarico posuit, atque illic etiam milites collocavit: agros et horrea et domos et annonam Transrhenanis omnibus fecit, iis videlicet, quos in excubiis collocavit, nec cessatum est unquam pugnari, &c.—Post hæc Illyricum petiit: et . . Rætias sic pacatas reliquit, ut illic ne suspicionem quidem ullius terroris relinqueret

It is evident that he is here speaking of Rhetia and that part of it which lies beyond the Danube. Those who are versed in history need not be reminded that Alba is not the Elbe; it agrees better with the Altmühl, and still more with a chain of mountains, which at this day, under the name of Alba, begins between the Neckar and the Danube, and passes towards Ulm and Tübingen. Probus drove the Alamani across this chain of hills, and then over the Neckar.—c. 16. Veteranis omnia illa, quæ angusta adeunt Isauriæ loca privatis donavit, addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo mares duntaxat ad militiam mitterentur.—What Probus did in Isauria, must also have happened in Rhetia. The Romans called these possessions “terres limitaneas,” the Franks gave them the name of “bona feudalia”—amongst the latter as well as the former, they were rewards for the performance of military services.

Note by the Translator, p. 226, l. 11. Peutinger's table has received its name from Conrade Peutinger, in whose library it was found after his death, by the noble and learned Mark Velser, who sent it to Ortelius for him to publish; but Ortelius, dying before he could effect it, left the care of it to John Moret, by whom it was published, in the year 1598.—For a further account of this table, see Reynold's *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 113.

Observations on the Altar and Inscription found at Tynemouth in the year 1781, by MR. THOMAS HODGSON.

As the illustration of the ancient state and history of these Northern Counties forms one of the leading objects of this Society, the following observations suggested by a consideration of some Roman remains found in this neighbourhood, may perhaps not be considered irrelevant, though their discovery is not of recent date. The remains to which I allude are the Altar and Tablet, which forty years ago were found about six feet underground, on the north side of Tynemouth Castle, where they had been buried as foundation stones of some of the ancient buildings or churches. They were communicated soon after their discovery to the Society of Antiquaries of London, by their Secretary, the Rev. John Brand, and figures of them, with explanations by Mr. Brand, were published in the eighth volume of the *Archaeologia**. They were also published by Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*.† The inscription on the altar is,

Jovi optimo maximo, Ælius Rufus, præfectus Cohortis Quartæ Lingonum.

The inscription on the tablet is not so easily defined, the two first lines having been so injured that it is difficult to ascertain what they have been. The figures given by Mr. Brand and Mr. Gough, though taken nearly about the same time, differ exceedingly; but as the stones themselves are now in the possession of the Society of Antiqua-

* Pl. xxi. p. 326. fig. 1, 2, 3, 4.

† Vol. iii. pl. xxii. fig. 14, 15. ed. 1789.

ries, it is not in our power, by a personal inspection, to ascertain which is most correct. Mr. Brand's was probably taken on the spot, soon after their first discovery, when they might possibly be in a more perfect state than when seen by Mr. Gough, and may therefore perhaps be more to be depended on. As he has given it, the inscription seems tolerably legible, though it is not easy to ascertain the exact meaning. With the explanation he has given, I cannot wholly agree; but it is not necessary for my present purpose to ascertain it with minute accuracy; it is sufficient for that purpose to know, that it evidently records the erection of a temple and some other public works, by a person named Maximinus.

The fact of the erection of such works being thus clearly proved, the question naturally arises—at what place did this erection take place? The answer is apparently obvious, that no doubt it must have been very near the spot where the stones were found. But as there is no record of a station having ever been at this place, and especially as no name has been handed down to us, which can be applied to it, it has been denied by many that the Romans had any station or establishment at Tynemouth. Amongst those writers who support such an opinion, appears to be Mr. Gough, who suggests,* that the stones in question might, perhaps, have been brought from South Shields, where undoubtedly there has been a station, and used as foundation stones in the building of the first Christian church at this place. But the futility of this opinion must be apparent to every one at all acquainted with the topography of the situation; for it can scarcely be believed that the builders of that church would take the trouble of bringing foundation stones a distance of at least a mile, and across a wide river, when stones of all sizes could be had in such abundance close at hand. It is much more probable that they found them on the spot, and with the other remains of the temple, &c. used them in the building of their church. It is indeed a matter of great surprise to me, that any doubt

* Camd. vol. iii. p. 235.

should ever have arisen on the subject; for independent of the fact that these inscriptions have been found at Tynemouth, it requires, I think, but a very slight knowledge of military affairs to convince us that the Romans must have maintained a fort, or post of some sort, on the north side of the mouth of the Tyne. The district of country from the Tyne to the Solway Frith was, we know, considered of the utmost importance by the Romans. It was here they erected the bulwarks of their empire in Britain, against the invasions of their northern neighbours; and in this district maintained more numerous forts and garrisons than in any other part. To supply, to succour in case of need, and to preserve the communication with, these forts, must have been objects of primary importance in their eyes. Can we therefore suppose that they would fail to occupy a river like the Tyne, which afforded them such extreme facilities for the purposes in question? or that they would not take every precaution, by the erection of forts, &c. to prevent the possession of the river being wrested from them? * That they had a post at South Shields is quite certain, but, I think, it can scarcely be maintained that that fort alone would afford them the adequate security. Is it at all probable, I would ask, that they would erect a fort upon a comparatively low point of land, easily accessible on every side, and situated so far behind another, that the approach of an enemy by sea from the north, could not be observed until they were close upon them, and leave unoccupied a promontory fortified almost by nature, and commanding a view of the coast as far as the eye can reach? It is impossible to believe it; indeed, it is, I think, self-evident, that if they considered the fortifying of the point on the south side of the mouth of the Tyne, necessary for their security, they must.

* As for obvious reasons they could not retain similar possession of the Solway Frith, being in fact obliged from its great extent and its separation from their other positions, to abandon the whole of the north shore of that estuary to their enemy, the secure possession of the Tyne became consequently of greater consequence to them. Besides it was from the east coast that their supplies would naturally come.

have felt the fortifying of the point on the north side of infinitely more importance.

Of two of the three barriers, or *prætenturæ*, erected by the Romans across this isthmus, we have positive evidence that two of them did not extend as far as Tynemouth; but what reason have we to suppose that the chain of forts drawn by Agricola across the island, might not extend so far? and that those at the eastern extremity might not be maintained even after the building of the walls of Hadrian and Severus? * Though those walls terminated, the one at Newcastle and the other at Wallsend, we must not thence conclude that the country between such terminations and the sea, was left unoccupied by the Romans. The cause of their being terminated before reaching the sea, I conceive to have been, that the depth and breadth of the river were then deemed a sufficient protection against the sudden inroads of the enemy. The motive for extending the wall of Severus beyond that of Hadrian, was no doubt to secure the last place on the river where it could by possibility be forded. Beyond this point a wall was no longer necessary; but to leave the country east of it unoccupied, would have been to expose unnecessarily their sea flank, to render it liable to be turned, and thus their immense fortifications, erected with such great labour and expense, rendered useless. Besides, what is there to make us believe that the Romans should confine themselves on this point more closely to the wall than they did on others,—on this point where the want of a wall rendered precaution and vigilance more necessary? We find, moreover, from the numbers of stations occupied by them on the sea coast at the west end of the wall, that the security of that sea flank was an object of the greatest importance to them, even though

* Mr. Horsley seems to think, that after the building of the wall of Severus, the station at South Shields was abandoned—an opinion for which I cannot see much reason. If it ever was abandoned, it was in all probability owing to finding that the security afforded by the station at Tynemouth, rendered the other no longer necessary. The abandonment of that station would, however, increase the importance of the one at Tynemouth.

the wall did there reach to the very edge of the sea,—why therefore are we to conclude, that the security of the east coast was not also an object of the first importance to them, or that they would neglect it*? But that they did extend their communications beyond the station at Wallsend, is a fact of which, fortunately, more convincing proofs than mere conjecture evince the truth. At Chirton, may yet be traced the form of a Roman station, known by the name of Blake Chesters—a name sufficiently expressive of its origin. In the neighbouring fields too coins have been found at various times; and I am told by good authority, that several squares and oblongs, extending from West Chirton to Tynemouth, may yet be traced. Supported by these facts, the conjecture of a fort having existed at Tynemouth, amounts almost to certainty.

If we are satisfied of the existence of a Roman fort or station at Tynemouth, there can be no uncertainty respecting the troops by which it was garrisoned, since the inscription on the altar satisfactorily proves that the *Cohors quarta Lingonum* was stationed here. This is the only inscription hitherto discovered in this island, in which the name of this cohort is found, nor is there any other record of its presence in Britain. The name of the *Cohors secunda Lingonum* occurs in inscriptions at Moresby in Cumberland, at Lanchester, and, as Mr. Horsley thinks, at Ilkley in Yorkshire. Now it is very remarkable, that neither the *Cohors secunda*, nor the *Cohors quarta*, LINGONUM, are mentioned in the *Notitia*, but in that curious record there occur the names of the *Cohors secunda*, and the *Cohors quarta*, LERGORUM. This circumstance has given rise to a doubt in my mind, which, if well founded, will be found of some importance to a correct knowledge of the geography of this part of Roman Britain. For it is further worthy of remark, that these two cohorts *Lergorum* have never yet been found

* The secure possession, which the occupation of the points of land at the mouth of the Tyne, gave them of the country to the south, was no doubt one reason why they found it unnecessary to occupy so many stations on the east, as on the west coast.

mentioned in any inscription discovered in Britain. So that the cohorts *Lingonum* occur in inscriptions, and not in the *Notitia*, and the cohorts *Lergorum* in the *Notitia*, and not in inscriptions. I am hence strongly inclined to suspect, that some of the early transcribers or printers of the *Notitia* have made a mistake, and put *Lergorum* for *Lingonum*. And that the orthography of the *Notitia* is not considered infallibly correct, we have evidence in some literal corrections made by Mr. Horsley. Should the doubt which I have here thrown out be considered to be well founded, it will, as I have said, be found to have an important inference with regard to the Roman geography of this part of the country, as it will decidedly prove that Mr. Horsley was correct in beginning the stations *per lineam valli* at the east end of the wall, and not at the west, as preceding writers had done. For by the *Notitia*, the first of these stations, *Segedunum*, is said to have been garrisoned by the *Cohors quarta Lergorum*, supposed *Lingonum*, and this altar erected by the prefect of the *Cohors quarta Lingonum* is found at Tynemouth, evidently shewing that that station was at this end of the wall, if my supposition be correct. *Segedunum*, it is well known, is placed by Mr. Horsley at Wallsend; a decision which the preceding remarks may perhaps at first sight be thought to invalidate, as should they be correct, this station ought rather to be placed at Tynemouth. But as the assigning of such name to the station at Tynemouth would be entirely subversive of the principle of order in which these stations seem entered in the *Notitia*, and by the observance of which Mr. Horsley was enabled to fix them with such apparent certainty, I see no reason for deviating from his arrangement. I am therefore inclined to be of opinion, that the station at Tynemouth was only a secondary station or fort, subordinate to that at Wallsend, and under the command of the prefect of the Cohort stationed there. Motives of pleasure or the nature of the service on which he was employed, would no doubt often induce him to fix his quarters here, and on some of such occasions this altar was probably erected. That no name has been handed down to

us that can with probability be applied to this station ought not to surprise us, or raise any doubt of this point of land having been occupied by the Romans; for if a dependency on the station at Wallsend, it of course would not be comprehended in the plan of the *Notitia*, and its situation would naturally preclude it from being included in any of the Itinera of either Antonine or Richard. But with regard to name, I cannot help suspecting that it may, together with the station at South Shields, be included by Ptolemy in the appellation of *Ostia Vedrae*. For as this name is in the plural, it must be inferred either that the Tyne had at that time more mouths than one, or that this phrase alludes to the forts, which, like gates, secured its entrance. In after times it may have had a more specific name, which has since been lost amidst the lapse of ages,—a fate which has no doubt attended that of many other stations.

Newcastle, December 1, 1821.

An Account of a Roman Station, near Glanton, Northumberland, in a Letter from JOHN SMART, Esq. of Trewitt, to the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.

Trewitt House, January 10th, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE great pleasure in communicating to our Society of Antiquaries the discovery that I have made of a Roman Station, which I consider to be the "*Alauna Amnis*," of the 4th Iter of Richard of Cirencester, placed by Dr. Stukeley at Alnwick; though others suppose that the village of Glanton occupies that station. It is situated at Crawley Tower, which, with the farm offices, occupies its east angle. It is on a considerable eminence, about 400 yards east of Watling-street, between the village of Glanton and the river Bremish. It is 290 feet long, 160 feet broad, and is surrounded by a foss of 30 feet wide, and an agger of 20 feet thick. It commands a most delightful view of the vale of Whittingham, and nearly the whole length of the Bremish from its source to Horton Castle; and certainly the immediate neighbourhood is the best fortified in "ancient Britain," as from the station can be seen no less than seven strong British and Saxon camps, several of which have triple ramparts; namely, Harehill, near Bewick; Broughlaw, by Ingram; the gorge of the Bremish, above ditto, through which the Britons must have passed when they quitted their strongly fortified town at the foot of Greenshaw Hill, between Linhope and Hartside; the Clinch Hill, Callaly Castle Hill, and Cross Hill, Black

Chester and the Castle Hill above Alnham. The farthest distance of these from the station is about four miles. The church at Alnham is built in the site of a small Roman camp, which most probably has been for a Centurion's guard, to protect their herds of cattle when grazing during summer in the rich pastures on the bank of the river Aln above Whittingham. I observed several small camps above Rothbury, belonging to the Britons and Saxons, which must have been appropriated to a similar purpose. With respect to Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary, as it relates to the Roman province of Valentia, I am confirmed in the idea that his "*Alauna Amnis*," in his 4th Iter, is the station at Crawley Tower, as the eminence on which I found it, declines down both to the rivers Aln and Bremish; but in order to elucidate my opinion, I will transcribe a part of that Iter, only premising that Richard had a very imperfect knowledge of the castrametation of the Romans, along the eastern branch of Watling-street, as he omits four between *Ad Murum* and *Alauna Amne*, viz. at Bolam, Thornton, Brinkburn Priory, and Framlington Hall Hill; but his knowledge of the western branch, through the same province, is perfectly correct, and which is seen by uniting a part of the 5th and 9th Iters.

Part of the 4th Iter.

Intras Maximam Cæsariensem.

Vinovio,

Epiaco,

Ad Murum,

Binchester.

Ebchester.

Portgate.

Trans Murum intras Valentiam,

{ Bolam.
Thornton.
Brinkburn Priory.
Framlington Hall Hill.
Crawley Tower.

Alauna Amne,

Tueda Flumine,

Ad Vallum,

Falkirk.

Part of the 5th and 9th Iters.

<i>Corstoplio,</i>	Corbridge.
<i>Bremenio,</i>	Riechester.
<i>Ad Fines,</i>	Chew Green.
<i>Curia,</i>	Near Jedburgh.
<i>Trimontio,</i>	Eildon Hills.
<i>Gadanica,</i>	Channel Kirk.
<i>Corio, (Query ?)</i>	Edinburgh.
<i>Ad Vallum,</i>	Falkirk.

I remain, my dear Sir,
 Your's, very respectfully,
 JOHN SMART.

*An Essay towards ascertaining the Etymology of the Names of Places
in the County of Northumberland, by the REV. ANTHONY HED-
LEY, M. A.*

“Much curious matter in philology might be gleaned from well selected lists of vulgar words—and the names of farm-houses, glens, brooks, and especially of fields.”

Introductory Address, by the Rev. John Hodgson, on the Study of Antiquities.

IT has been a long established custom with county historians to attempt to etymologise the names of places which form the subject of their descriptions. Their unfounded and often ridiculous derivations have very much tended to justify the contempt into which topographical etymology is so generally sunk, and against which there are so many prejudices, as a vain and fanciful study—to be ranked only among the “*deliramenta doctrinæ*.” But connected as local etymology is with the rise, progress, and gradual decay of languages, it must surely, on this ground alone, be interesting to every scholar. Besides, it often affords curious and instructive notices with respect to the colonization of countries, which are no where else to be found.—The barrow may be removed—the stone monument may be dashed in pieces by some modern Goth—the intrenchment may be worn out by the plough—but a local name is often nearly as imperishable as the mountain or the river of which it is the designation. It is by means of these curious and precious fragments of the long-lost languages of other times, that the “pedigree of nations” may be best traced; and

it was by weapons from this armoury, that the indefatigable Chalmers defeated in kerton and the Goths, on the much contested point respecting the lineage of the Picts.

Ought then a subject, which, if discreetly pursued, is at once so interesting to the Philologist, and so useful to the Historical Antiquary, to be so lightly esteemed? The topography of few countries affords so fine an opportunity for this kind of research as our own. Its aboriginal inhabitants, the Britons, possessed a very descriptive language, and many of the names which they imposed upon mountains, rivers, and the other great features of nature yet remain, having triumphed over the numberless revolutions of all kinds to which our country has been since exposed. Their simple but finely discriminating terms, generally painting as it were, some local circumstance, put to utter shame the whimsical, absurd, and altogether barbarous local nomenclature of modern colonizers and navigators; and their superior good taste and ingenuity in this respect, argue a much higher degree of civilization and refinement than is usually ascribed to them. Many names of places throughout Northumberland still attest the abode and the language of this first people; and this circumstance, added to the numerous remains of their cairns, and camps, and stone circles, scattered through most parts of the county, where cultivation has not interfered with them, sufficiently proves it to have been thickly settled in their time. The following Celtic terms enter into the composition, and form the elements as it were, of many names of places in Northumberland:—

Pil, a moated fort, appears in the form of *Peel*. Within my own recollection almost every *old* house in the dales of Rede and Tyne was what is called a *Peel* house, built for securing its inhabitants and their cattle in the moss trooping times.

Cairn, a heap of loose stones.

Crag, a rock.

Uch, a height, in the form of Heugh, with the Saxon aspirate *h*.

Bre or *Brac*, applied to declivities.

Lyn, a pool.

Caer, a mound thrown up for defence, in a few places.

Glen, a valley, in *Glendale* and *Glenwhelt*.

Dun or *Don*, a hill, the Scoto-Irish or Gaelic form of the British *Din*.

Parc, an inclosure.

Ros, a promontory.

Tre, a dwelling.

After the Britons came four successive hordes of conquerors, with each their own language, and each exercising the privilege of conquerors, by giving new names, or by adding to, translating into their own speech, and otherwise changing the old ones. The Romans were undoubtedly the first who came in upon the original settlers. The *Ottadini** territory was probably not subdued till after the return of Agricola, from his campaigns beyond the Firth of Forth, in A. D. 84. Considering their long stay, and their unlimited dominion from the wall of Antonine southward, the Romans appear to have been the most moderate in the exercise of the privilege above-mentioned. They seem, for the most part, to have been content with the names they found in use, merely latinising the terminations of a few of them; for if we may take Baxter for our guide, almost all the names of Roman cities in Britain may be traced to British roots. Notwithstanding their long continued residence in Northumberland, and where they have left us one of the most splendid monuments of their enterprize and power, I do not recollect throughout the whole of the county, the single name of a place that can, with any propriety, be traced to their language†.

* Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 206.

† It is probable, indeed, that the Latin language was very little spoken by the Roman soldiers in Britain. Paul was a Roman, but born at Tarsus. Colonies of *Italians* settled in the fine climates of France and Spain, where they introduced the use of the Latin tongue; but Rome held Britain, not by Italian colonists, but by mercenary soldiers, drawn from different and distant parts of the empire.

The Romanized Britons, to whose help against the invading Picts and Scots, the Saxons had been called, soon found in that fierce and warlike people masters instead of allies. Their first visit to the island was A. D. 449; but they were long employed chiefly in its southern provinces, and the downfall of Ottadinian independence did not finally take place till the establishment of the Northumbrian kingdom by Ida, in A. D. 547. If we did not know from history, we might from topography, that the Saxons had the most lasting, general, and deep-rooted possession of the island; for throughout the whole of England and the south of Scotland, there are probably ten names of places of Saxon origin, for two or three derived from any other language. In the topography of Northumberland, most of the following Saxon terms are in frequent use, both singly and in composition :—

Botle, a place of abode, in one or two instances.

Burgh, *Brough*, or *Burg*, originally a fortified place.

Burn, applied to small rivulets.

Car, a pool or lake, in *Prestwic-car*.

Chesters, the *Ceaster* of the Saxons, and applied by them to the *Castra* of the Romans, as well as the *Caers*, or forts, of the Britons.

Cleugh, a ravine.

Comb, a valley between two hills.

Cop or *Cap*, the top of a hill.

Dale, in composition *Dal*, a valley.

Dike, a wall.

Dean, a wooded valley.

Fen, a marsh.

Ham, a dwelling,

Here, in composition *har*, an army.

Hirst or *Hurst*, a small wood.

How or *Hoe*, a hill.

Holm, a water meadow, also a hill.

Ing, a meadow.

Kirk, a church.

Law, a hill.

Lee or *Ley*, a pasture.

Rig, a ridge.

Raw, a row.

Shaw, a copse wood.

Shank, the projecting point of a hill.

Shiel, originally a temporary hut for shepherds, afterwards applied to fixed habitations.

Sike, a small rill.

Steel or *Steal*, locus, a place.

Steud, a farm house and offices.

Thorn, often used, I think, in Northumberland, as a corruption of *Thurn*, an old word, according to Ortelius, signifying a tower.

Throp, a village.

Ton, a place of abode.

Wark or *Werk*, a building.

Wick, according to Bp. Gibson, has a threefold signification; 1, a village; 2, the curving reach of a river, or bay; 3, a castle.

Worth, a court, farm, or place of abode, in *Warkworth*.

The Danes, who long ruled over the north of England as absolute conquerors, have left us many memorials of their invasion in the topography of the country: their *fell*, more especially, enters into the composition of many names in the northern counties, and has been very generally imposed on the moorland districts.

From the entrance of the Danes into Britain to the coming of the Normans, in 1066, there elapsed a period of 274 years. It was the policy of the Conqueror to change the language and the institutions of the kingdom; and yet it is astonishing how extensively and obstinately the ancient names of places have been retained. There are, at least in Northumberland, few traces of Norman local names though

Belshawe, now Belsay, Beaufront, and one or two others may be given as examples. *Hope*, a mountain dingle or valley, a word, according to Chalmers, introduced after the Norman conquest, enters very extensively into the names of places in all the upland districts, more especially in the north of England and south of Scotland. The Normans likewise softened the pronunciation of many of the local names, by inserting and changing letters, as *Charlton* for the Saxon *Carlton*, by the insertion of *h*.

In searching for the etymons of local names, two things are necessary to be observed :—

1. We should always, if possible, personally visit the spot in question, that we may have an opportunity of observing its natural features. The older the name is, the more likely is it to be expressive of some local circumstance, for it may almost be laid down as an axiom, that all ancient names of places, however unmeaning many of them may now appear, are significant in the language of the people who imposed them. 2. We should endeavour to find out how the word was *anciently spelt and written*. Without this precaution, our labour must often be in vain, and we shall be in continual hazard of justly incurring the ridicule so generally cast upon the local etymologist. Many names of places, transmitted through successive generations of people ignorant of the language of those who bestowed them, have at length become so disguised and corrupted, that scarcely any of their original elements remain. For the greater part of England, Domesday Book is a great help in this respect; though there is little doubt that many of the Saxon names, both of places and persons, are sadly corrupted through the ignorance and carelessness of the Norman scribes. As Northumberland and some of the northern counties are not included in this curious and invaluable record, we must have recourse, wherever we can, to old charters, and, in default of these, to the Testa de Nevil, the Inquisitiones post Mortem, and the other parliamentary printed records, several of which, so far as they relate to Northumberland, are

contained in the published volume of Mr. Hodgson's History of the county. The laborious and well-executed index to this elegant volume, is one of the most useful ever appended to any book. It is in particular a most valuable present to the topographical etymologist.

These hasty and desultory observations I have been induced to offer with much diffidence, as prefatory to a few specimens of an attempt to etymologize the more remarkable names of places in my native county. Should they be found acceptable to the Society, the subject may be further pursued at some future meeting. In the mean time, as to the derivations about to be presented to their notice, I conclude, in the often quoted words of the great Roman Classic,

————— *si quid novisti rectius istis ;*
Candidus imperti : si non—his utere mecum.

PARISH OF KIRKWHELPINGTON.

WANNIE CRAG, a high and steep hill, forming the western extremity of this parish, on the summit of which there has been a British strength, impregnable to the north from a precipitous rock of a stupendous height, and flanked on the accessible sides by a semicircular breastwork of stone, from whence the declivity is very swift. The encampment has occupied the whole of the flat summit. The account given by Tacitus of the mode in which the British constructed their forts, is a most accurate description of the place in question. "*Tunc montibus arduis et si qua clementer accedi poterant in modum valli saxa præstruit.*"* As this was probably one of the strengths of the Ottadini people in the days of their conflict with the Roman power, we may look for the origin of its name in the aboriginal language. In the Irish, which is a sister dialect of the British, *uaine* or *waine* is green. And in the parish of Kirkmabrak,† in Wigtonshire, there is

* Tac. Ann. lib. 12, sec. 33.

† Stat. Acc. xv. 552.

a barrow which is called Cairney *Wannie*, and which the writer of its statistical account says is merely the cairn *waine* of the Irish, and means the green cairn. *Wannie* crag must then be the green crag. *Crag*, though still used in the common speech of this country, is a pure British word, signifying a rock, or rocky height.

WANSBECK, the river which flows past Morpeth, and enters the sea at Cambois, takes its rise from the back of *Wannie*, and is, I have no doubt, a contraction of *Wannies-beck*. *Beck*, which, in Cumberland and Westmoreland, is the generic term for a brook or rivulet, appears nowhere else, so far as I recollect, in the topography of North-umberland.

CATCHERSIDE.—Before the formation of a turnpike road across Harwood, the principal road from Scotland to this quarter of North-umberland led past this place, which was noted for the resort and nightly accommodation of packmen and *cadgers*, who, before the union, were the chief agents in carrying on the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms.* Hence, *perhaps*, the two first syllables of its name, though I beg to pronounce upon this with considerable doubt. *Cadger*, according to Jameson, is the modern orthography of *catcher*, from the old Scotch word *cache*, signifying to *drive*, and, in a neuter sense, to *carry*; and *catcher* is no great corruption of *catcher*. The affix *side* is the terminating syllable of many other names of places in this county, and has usually been understood to denote their locality on the *side* of a hill. They have not all of them, however, this position; and it is very questionable whether any of them ought to be referred to this etymon, but rather to the Celtic *saide*,† a seat, an abode, a dwelling-place.

* From this place they directed their course southward, across Shaftoe Crag, through a remarkable fissure in the freestone rock, still called the *Sauter's nick*; from whence we may learn that *salt* (provincially *saut* or *sote*) was one of the great objects of their traffic.

† Hence, perhaps, the Latin *sedes*, which is a much more likely etymon than the Greek *ἵδρα*, assigned to it by Baxter. It may perhaps be asked, why not derive the Celtic *saide* from the Latin *sedes*. I answer, because *saide* is the Irish form of the word, and the

LADY WELL, so called from a fine spring near it; and which, in popish times, was probably dedicated to "our Lady".

REGISTER, perhaps a corruption of *Rae-Chester*, a farm, forming part of what was once called Whelpington Fell. Here are very perfect remains of a square camp of considerable dimensions, which probably gives name to the place. *Rae-chester* is a compound of the British *rae*, or the Gaelic *ra*, signifying a fortified place, a fort, and the Saxon *ceaster* or *chester*, of a similar meaning. The British prefix to this name is a presumption that this encampment existed in British times; and is, therefore, from its *square* form most probably of Roman origin. Rutchester, near Newcastle, the ancient Vindobala; Riechester in Redewater, the Roman Bremenium; and Rochester, near Chipchase Castle; where, to aid the name, are strong and evident lines of a large Roman camp, and which has hitherto most unaccountably escaped the notice of all our antiquaries—are all formed of the same pleonastic compound,—the British *rae* or *ra*, a fort, and the Saxon *ceaster* or *chester*, signifying the same thing.

THE HEALD. This name is given to the quickly-sloping ground on the east side of the Ray burn, a few hundred yards before it joins the Wansbeck, near Kirkwhelpington. It is a pure Saxon word, signifying shelving,* declining, or hanging downwards, which is very descriptive of the ground in question.

Romans having had no connection with Ireland, its natives had no opportunity of borrowing any part of its language from them. Besides, according to the rules laid down by Lhuyd and other etymologists, in any contested derivation, the monosyllabic claimant is generally the true root. Without deciding dogmatically on the subject, it is clear the Celtic and Latin languages must, in their origin, be nearly allied; and that the latter at least cannot be the parent of the former. For instance, the Celtic terms *tír*, *awyr*, *mor*, and *llwch*, obviously agreeing, both in sound and signification with the Latin *terra*, *aer*, *mare*, *lucus*, designate common objects for which the Britons must have had names long before the arrival of Caesar and his legions; and which were probably used, both in Britain and Ireland, long before the Romans even knew of the existence of such places.

* Heald, *deverus*,—Benson, *in voce*.

SLEDEHOE, a considerable eminence about half way between Horns Castle and Corn Hills. This likewise is a very descriptive Saxon appellation from *slede*, a valley, and *hou* or *hoe*, a hill, meaning *the hill in the valley*; the place in question being actually a detached eminence, unconnected with any mountainous range, and rising abruptly from the surrounding level space or valley.

PARISH OF ELSDON.

ELSDON, a village of great antiquity, which gives name to this very extensive parish, is said to have been a Roman town in the time of M. Aurelius Antoninus, two Roman altars having been found inscribed to that Emperor, in a hill called the Mote Hill, at a little distance N. E. from the town. Urns, and the remains of sacrificed animals, have likewise been found here. It is supposed by General Roy to have been the first of a chain of forts between Watling-street and its eastern branch, called the Devil's Causeway; the second having been on the Coquet, behind Hepple, on a hill now called Hetchester. From its name, however, it is evident that the Mote Hill (which I believe to be the most perfect and remarkable earth work with this appellation, to be found in Northumberland) was afterwards in the occupation of the Saxons. Hence, probably, its name *Els-don*, from the Anglo-Saxon *elde*, old, and *dun* or *don*, a hill, or fort upon a hill; referring to its ancient occupation by the Romans. *Els-bury*, in Scotland, is translated by Baxter,* *antiqua arx*. It may, however, have been the *dun* or fort of *Ella*, a common name among the Saxons.

GARRETSHEELS, in Redewater, a corruption of *Gerard-sheels*, or the sheelings belonging to a person of the name of *Gerard*. In the 10th of Edward 1st, *Gerardsheels* is claimed by Gilbert de Umfreville, as part of his possessions in Redesdale. The surname *Garrett* is, I have no doubt, a corruption of Gerard.

OTTERCOPS, a farm occupying high ground, and forming the

* Sub voce *Cindocellum*.

southern extremity of this parish. In old records it is uniformly written *Altirtoppes** or *Altircops*, which gives us a name, formed probably by different people, and in different æras. The two first syllables are purely British, from *allt*, a cliff, a height, or hill, and *tir*, land, country. *Altir* is, therefore, literally, the high or hill country, which is perfectly descriptive of its situation. The Saxons, however, seldom permitted a British name to remain quite in its original state, and had a strong fancy of adding to it, and that often pleonastically. In this instance they added their *coppe*, which signifies the top of a hill, thus making the whole name, *Altir-copps*, or the *hill country tops*.

ELISHAW. As the most probable etymon of Ely, in Cambridge-shire, Bp. Gibson, in his appendix to the Saxon Chronicle, gives us the British *helig*, or *elig*, willows, because that marshy region formerly abounded in them. About the time of the Norman Conquest, or soon after, the *g* was often melted into *y* or *i*,† and the aspirate was frequently dropped. Hence *helig* would, by these mutations, be *chy* or *eli*, which affords a likely enough derivation of *Eli-shaw*, *i. e.* the *willow wood*. It is a remarkable confirmation of this etymology, that there are yet growing here a few of the largest *willow* trees to be met with, perhaps, in the north of England.

GERSONS-FIELD, near Otterburn. The prefix to this name is nothing but the Saxon *gaers*, grass. There are Gerstons in Surry and Sussex, which Lye derives from this etymon. The provincial pronunciation of grass in Northumberland, is still the pure Saxon *girs*, or *gaers*.

OVERACRES, a farm, about two miles west from Elsdon, from the Anglo-Saxon *ofer*, upper, and *acer* or *aker*, a field. Now, this word is used for a certain space or measure of ground, but not formerly. Overacres is, therefore, Saxon for the upper-fields.

* Henry III. 52, *Altirtoppes* forfeited by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and given by the king to his son Edmund.—The king complains that it is kept wrongfully by Gilbert de Umfreville.

† In fine vocum *g* apud posteriores Anglos sæpe in *y* or *i* liquescit.—*Vid. Lye sub lit. g.*

RATTENROW, in Redewater; and RATTENRAW, near Haydon-bridge. There are, I believe, some other places of the same name in the county. The historian of the parish of Halifax, in considering the etymology of a place there of a similar appellation, seems to give way to the opinion of Stukeley, who, in his account of Richard of Cirencester, says* this name is of high antiquity, and relates to *panegyres* or *fairs*. And a writer in the *Archaeologia*,† observes, *Rattenraw* is a name of great antiquity, which the learned Camden deduces from the German freebooters, or hireling auxiliaries: “*rotten*, or *rotteren*, to muster,” says he; “hence *rot maister*, a corporal”. Neither appearance, tradition, nor history encourages us, however, to assign any extraordinary antiquity to places of this denomination in this county; and I would derive them from *raw*, *row*, a rank, derived from the Anglo-Saxon *raewa*, a series, and *ton* or *tun*, signifying the houses in a *row*. *Row* has afterwards been pleonastically added.

SILLS-BURN, a rivulet so named, probably, from the *strata* through which it runs—provincially termed *sills*, appearing bare in various parts of its course, to a considerable depth.

RUKEN-EDGE, a lofty ridge lying between Emblehope burn and Redewater, evidently from the German *Rucken*, dorsum, the back, and metaphorically, a promontory or ridge.

DURTREE-BURN, is vulgarly written *Dultree*; but both in Speed's map and in the index to the published volume of Mr. Hodgson's History, it is spelt *Durtre*, which is probably its true orthography. If so, it is a pure Celtic compound, from *dur*, water; and *tre*, a dwelling; signifying the dwelling at the water. The whole of the name *Durtre*, was in time imposed upon what was at first only the *dur*, or rivulet; and the Saxon *burn*, was added by a subsequent people.

REDE-SWIRE, that part of the mountainous range between England and Scotland, from whence the river Rede derives its principal source. It is from the Anglo-Saxon *swire*, signifying primarily, a *neck*; and in

* P. 44.

† Vol. x. 61.

a secondary and metaphorical sense, used to denote the hollow or depression of a mountain, connecting higher mountains or hills on each side of it. Thus the Rede-swire is the lower and connecting ridge between the Carter-fell on the west, and the Hound-law on the east. This was the scene of a famous border contest, 7th June, 1575, called the Raid of the Rede-swire.

CARTER-FELL, the dividing ridge between England and Scotland, from whence issues the river Rede. "On voit," says Bullet,* "par *card*, *ard*, que *cart* a signifié pointe, aiguillon." The Celtic *cart*, with the same meaning as *ard*, (which, according to the same writer signifies what is—"le plus élevé—montagne dans la même langue"), is most likely the root of *Carter*. In the south-west of Scotland, there is a hill called *Carthur*, but the village at the foot of it is *Carter-ton*. Near the southern extremity of the parish of Simonburn, we have the *Green-Carts*, and the *Black-Carts*, signifying, respectively, the green heights or hills, and the black or heathy hills. And a little to the south-east of Cheviot is a hill called the

CAIRD, or CARD-LAW, which, I have no doubt, is synonymous with *Cart*, *t* and *d* being convertible letters. *Law* has been afterwards added by a people who knew not that *card* already signified a *hill*.

GAMMELS-PATH, the name of that portion of the old Roman road between Rochester (Bremenium) and Chew-Green (Ad Fines), just before it reaches the latter place; meaning the *old road*, from the Danish *gammel*, old.

RIDING. There are no fewer than seven places of this name in this county. In searching for its etymon, the Yorkshire Ridings naturally present themselves; but *Riding* there is a corruption of *Thridding*, signifying the third part, i. e. of the county, and can have no relation to the Northumberland Ridings. Indeed, I gave up the word in despair, till I read Professor Magnuson's Dissertation† upon the Runic inscription upon the gold ring found near Carlisle, which throws considerable

* Sur la Langue Celtique, sub voce *Cart*.

† Vide p. 136 of this volume.

light upon it. The inscription he thus translates,—“ This ring belongs to Earl Orme the trusty, of *Ridong*.” And upon *Ridong* the Professor observes—“ I, therefore, read *Ridong*, *Redong*, or *Readong*, the same as *Reading* or *Reding** (yet in use), or *Vidang*, signifying *campus sylvestris*. We know that the Northmen, occupying Normandy, imposed new names, derived from their own language, upon the places of that country. And that the same thing was done by the first Danes who subdued parts of England, is not at all improbable.”

Professor Magnuson thinks it not unlikely, as Northumberland and Cumberland are conterminous counties, that the ring in question belonged to Orme, Earl of Northumberland and Deira, who flourished about the years 941 and 942. This Danish chief probably lived at one of our Northumberland Ridings; a word, it would seem, of Scandinavian origin, still used as a local name in Denmark or Norway; and which signifies, in English, a woody, uncultivated field or pasture, or whatever else may be thought a better translation of “ *campus sylvestris*.”

PARISH OF EGLINGHAM.

EGLINGHAM, a village with a church, which gives name to a very extensive parish. Its prefix is evidently the British *eglys*, a church.

BREAMISH, in Speed's Map *Bremyshe*, perhaps to be derived from *breme*, an old word, according to Jamieson, signifying furious, raging, swelling, and *uishg* or *uisge*, a Gaelic term for water. It is some confirmation of this etymology, that as soon as this rivulet loses its mountainous character, about Bewick Bridge, and pursues a more gentle course, it drops this name, and takes that of the

TILL, which, according to Bullet, means a valley. Nothing is more

* In a Danish translation of this interesting paper, of which two or three copies have found their way to this country, the Author adds here “ or *Riding*,” which is, to a letter, the very local name we are considering.

common than for a river to take the name of the valley through which it flows. *Tille* is a river in Burgundy.

POW-BURN, an evident corruption of the Celtic *pwl* or *poll*, a ditch, a pool, from which comes the Anglo-Saxon *pul*.

LILLBURN, a small rivulet, which gives its name to a village and township, and falls into the Breamish; from the Danish *lille*, little, and *burn*. *Lile* is still used for *little* in Cumberland and Westmoreland. We find *Lille-sund*, in Norway.

BEWICK, a village overhanging the eastern bank of the Till, in a fine, open situation, with a most extensive and delightful prospect.—This is one of the few Norman appellations in the county; imposed, probably, by the Monks of St. Albans, who, with the church of Eglingham, had very early possession of the township and other lands in the same parish. It is compounded of *beau*, fine, pretty, and the Saxon *wick*, in allusion to its happily chosen site.

The CATERANES' HOLE, on Bewick Moor, a natural cave, formed by a narrow fissure in the freestone rock, and descending towards the west, to a very great depth, at an angle of about 15° degrees. By this instructive name we learn, that this cave has probably been, in former times, the hidden retreat of *Cateranes*, an old Scotch word, signifying “bands of robbers,” which Jamieson derives from the Irish *ceatharnach*, a soldier.

HIGH HEDGLEY, antiently written *Higley*, and *Higgley*, from the Anglo-Saxon *hig*, high, and *ley*, pasture. *High* has been prefixed, pleonastically, in more modern times. *Hedghope*, a mountain immediately south-east of Cheviot, and almost rivalling it in height, affords an instance of a similar corruption of the Saxon *hig*; for I have no doubt that it means the *High-hope*.

BEANLEY, an adjoining township, and part of it on still higher ground than Hedgley. In old records it is generally spelt *Ben-ley*, composed, probably, of the Gaelic *ben* or *bein*, a hill or mountain, and *ley*, pasture. On the summit of the highest ground in this township, in what

is called Beanley plantation, are the interesting remains of a British camp, with a double foss and rampart. The road leading from it is still very perfect, winding down the northern declivity of the hill, and guarded with large stones placed edgeways.

GALLOW-LAW, on the Beanley estate, but on the northern side of the Breamish. Here must have been the place of execution for the Barony of Beanley, before the *jus furcæ* was taken from the lords.

CRAWLEY TOWER, standing near the southern extremity of an old encampment, which Mr. Smart, in the preceding article of this volume, rightly supposes to be Roman. The north-west angle, which is the most perfect part of it, is decidedly Roman in its features, and cannot be mistaken. That it was the *Alauna amnis* of Richard of Cirencester, is by no means so certain. Mr. Smart says, he is "confirmed in this idea, because the eminence on which it stands, declines down both to the rivers Aln and Breamish." Now it certainly has a fine command of the latter river, being not more than half a mile from it; but the considerable hill on which the village of Glanton is situated, lies between it and the river Aln, from which it is distant not less than three miles. Had it received its appellation, therefore, from either of these rivers, is it not much more likely that it would have been named with reference to the Breamish than the Aln?

I think it probable that *Crawley*; or, as it is anciently spelt, *Crawlawe*, is a corruption of *Caer-law*, i. e. the fort upon the hill. *Caer Almond*, the Roman naval station at the mouth of the river Almond, on the Firth of Forth, is, we know, contracted, in a similar way, into *Cramond*.

BASSINTON, on the northern brink of the Aln, from *bassin*,* an old word, which signifies rushy, and *ton*. The surrounding fields, notwithstanding the progress of cultivation, still very much abound in the common rush (*juveus effusus*). This word appears in *bass*, a mat for cleaning the feet, and *bass-bottomed* chairs. There is another

* Jam. sub voce.

Bassinton in the chapelry of Cramlington, which has, probably, the same etymon.

The following additional Examples are taken indiscriminately from different parts of the County.

THORNGRAFTON, from the Anglo-Saxon *Thyrn*, thorn; *græf*, a grove; and *ton*; i. e. literally, Thorn-grove-town.

MELCRIDGE, a corruption, *per metathesis*, of *Mickle-ridge*, from the Anglo-Saxon *mickle*, large.

BOTHAL, the name of an ancient castle and village on the river Wansbeck, which gives name to the parish; obviously from the Anglo-Saxon *botl* or *bottle*. It is, in fact, vulgarly pronounced *Bottle*.

WOODHORN, i. e. the *wood-corner*, from the Anglo-Saxon *horn*, a corner; having, probably, been the south-east corner of the wood which formerly overspread this coast, however now denuded of it, as we learn from many etymological intimations in the neighbourhood; e. g. *Wid* or *Woodrington*; *Hirst*; *Longhurst*; *Norwood*, i. e. *Northwood*; *Stobswood*, from the Anglo-Saxon *stub* or *stobbe*, the stump of a tree; *Northurst*; *Woodhouse*; *Woodhouses*, &c.

HEPPLE, a village on the north bank of the Coquet; in old records, *Heppale*, *Heppal*, *Heple*, and *Heepeel*. It is, probably, a corruption of *hea-peel*, from the Saxon *hea*, high, and *peel*, a border strength, from the British *pil*. "About the middle of the last century," says the writer of M'Kenzie and Dent's History of Northumberland, "this town consisted of 15 detached farmsteads, besides several strong ancient houses;" and afterwards adds, "at that time the exterior walls of a strong and stately house were still standing tolerably entire, and which had probably been the manor house of the proprietors of Hepple." To this last-mentioned building, the appropriate appellation of *Hea-peel* was probably applied, to distinguish it from the neighbouring *peels* of inferior strength; and from hence the village might

derive its name. *Hepple*, it may be added, is a Northumbrian local surname.

HARNHAM, in the parish of Bolam, occupying a very singular and picturesque situation. "Seen before a setting sun," says Mr. Hodgson, in his article Northumberland, in the *Beauties of England*, "it appears like one of the fine towered hills in the pictures of Nicholas Poussin." It is derived by Wallis from "*harn* or *hern*, as a contraction of the Roman *hermen*, from *Hermes*, the god of travellers and custos manium of highways; and of the Saxon *herman* or *hareman*, a *military road*." Thus far Wallis, whose etymology in this article is singularly confused and inaccurate; for Harnham cannot be derived both from the Roman, or rather the Greek *Hermes*, and the Saxon *hereman*, which are words that have not the slightest mutual relation. Besides, *hereman* is not Saxon for a *military road*, but for *miles*, a *soldier*; and it may be remarked further, that the place in question lies at the distance of nearly two miles from the Devil's Causeway—the military road referred to by Wallis, and therefore not at all likely to derive its name from it. It is, I am persuaded, to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *horn*, a corner, and *ham*, a house or habitation. Nothing can be well more descriptive of its singular situation than this etymology, which will sufficiently appear, from Wallis's own account of the place. "It stands," says he, "on an eminence, and has been a place of great strength and security, a range of perpendicular rocks of rag stone on one side, and a morass on the other; the entrance by a narrow declivity to the north, which, in the memory of some persons now living, had an iron gate. The manor house is on the south-west corner of the precipice." It is indeed, literally, a *horn-ham* or *corner house*, which, by the change of a single letter, has been converted into *Harnham*.

CAMBOIS, a village situated on a small creek or haven, at the mouth of the river Wansbeck. We have here one instance, among numberless others, that the vulgar pronunciation of many names is often the best guide to their true orthography. *Cambois* is commonly

pronounced *Camus*, and is doubtless the Gaelic *camus*, a creek or bay.

THROPTON, on the Coquet, a pleonasm, formed of the Anglo-Saxon *throp*, a village, and *ton*, of the like import.

THROPPE, near Mitford, compounded of *throp*, a village, and *hill*; meaning the village on the hill.

KENTON, a village on a commanding eminence near Newcastle, from *ken*, view, and *ton*; literally, view or prospect town.

MICKLEY, the extensive pasture, from the Anglo-Saxon *mucel* or *mickle*, large, and *ley*, pasture.

AIRDLEY, in Hexhamshire, occupying a high situation. *Aird*, in the British, is *height*; to which the Saxons added their *ley*, pasture. *Airdley* means, therefore, the high pasture. *Aird* is often corrupted into *Ord*, which is a local surname.

MOLLER-STEAD, near Hexham chapel, from the Danish *moller*, a miller, and *sted*, a place; i. e. the miller's house or place.

WELDON, on the Coquet, has its first syllable from the Anglo-Saxon *weald*, a wood; the affix, *don*, is the Anglo-Saxon *den*, a valley.

DUNTERLEE, near Bellingham. *Dunter* is purely British, from *Dun*, a hill, and *tir*, land or country. *Lee* or *Ley*, pasture, has been subsequently added. The whole means the hill land pasture.

PONTELAND, from the Anglo-Saxon *ea-land*, compounded of *ea*, water, and *land*; i. e. the water land of the river Pont. *Eland* is the name of an adjoining mansion. A similarity in sound long confounded some of our earlier Antiquaries, and led them to place *Pons Ælii* here, instead of Newcastle.

INGOE, anciently written *Inghou*, from the Anglo-Saxon *ing*, a meadow, and *hoc*, a hill.

SHAFTO-CRAG, a lofty and picturesque-looking eminence, forming the southern extremity of the parish of Hartburn; in old records, always spelt *Schafthow*, and probably compounded of the German *schaf*, a sheep, and the Anglo-Saxon *hoc*, a hill. This place gives a local

surname to a very ancient family, the chief branch of which has been long seated at Bavington, in this county.

WATCH-CURRACK, on the hill south-west of Hexham, where there has been a beacon to alarm the country on the approach of an enemy. *Currack* is a slight corruption of the Gaelic *cruach*, a heap, a cairn; and the prefix, *watch*, denotes the purpose for which it was used.

MINDRUM, on the Beaumont-water, anciently written *Myndrom*, and a name of Celtic origin, compounded of the British *mynn*, a kid, and the Gaelic *drum*, signifying the back ridge of a hill. *Mindrum* is, therefore, Kid-hill, and synonymous with

KIDLAW, the name of a farm, in the parish of Kirkharle.

KYLOE, in Camden's *Britannia* spelt *Killey*, and in the *Mag. Britannia*, *Killy* or *Killey*, obviously a corruption of the British *Celth* or *Kolli*; a grove or thicket of trees; more strictly, according to Camden,* "a wood where much hazel grows." Fenwick wood, the remains of a natural forest, still comes almost close to Kyloe, on the south.

KELLY-BURN, in Redesdale, must be referred to the same etymon, and is the same in meaning as *Wood-burn*.

PENPUGH. This interesting name is marked in Speed's map, and in Armstrong's; but I am sorry to find it omitted in Fryer's. It is purely British, from *pen*, head,—figuratively, the summit; and *pou*,† region or country. *Penpugh*, which lies on the height south of Wyllymoteswick, and nearly on the *water shed* between the South Tyne and the Allen, signifies, therefore, the country about the hill summits.

CARVORAN, (the *Magna* of the Romans) a slight corruption of *Caer-vorwyn*, which, in British, signifies the Maiden Castle or Fort, so named from the Maiden Way passing through it.

BRISLEY, on the margin of the Aln, almost opposite Huhn Abbey, a corruption of *Braes-ley*, i. e. the pasture of the *braes* or banks, by which it is environed on the south, and on the summit of which stands

* Gibson's Camden, vol. ii. p. 785.

† Vid. Lhuyd, sub voce *Regio*.

Brisley Tower, so fine and conspicuous an object in the neighbourhood of Alnwick.

BOLHAM, an ancient village, which gives name to a parish, is of the same import as *Bolton*, and a pleonastic compound of the Scandinavian *bol*, a habitation, and the Anglo-Saxon *ham*.

DRURIDGE, in old writings, is always spelt *Dryrigg*, of very obvious derivation.

KERSHOPE, a mountain stream, having its source in Northumberland, but flowing into the Liddal, and the boundary between England and Scotland, throughout its course of eight miles. On the Scottish side of this rivulet, there is a hill called *Carby*, in some maps spelt *Kirby*, upon which, within my own recollection, were the striking remains of a British fort, remarkable for the strength and peculiarity of its construction. The British *Caer*, a fortress, gives no doubt its significant name to *Carby*, and the adjoining *hope* or valley, would be called the *Caers-hope* or *Kers*-hope*, which name has been subsequently transferred to the rivulet which flows through it. *Kershope*, near St. Peter's, in Allendale; *Kearsley*, in the chapelry of Ryal; *Carsley*, in Armstrong's map spelt *Caesley*, near Black *Chester*, a little way south of Alnham; and *Kersay* cleugh, at the head of North Tyne, near an old British fort and settlement called *Bels-hunkings*, are all names indebted for their prefixes to a similar origin. *Kershope*, it may be added, is a local surname in the form of *Kirsop*. The British *Caer* likewise furnishes local surnames to the families of *Car*, *Carr*, *Ker*, and *Keir*.

* *Chester-hope*, in Rede-water, obtains its name from the Roman station, *Habitancum*, now *Risingham*, which lies at the bottom of the hope or valley; and is, in fact, synonymous with *Kers-hope*.

Observations on the Roman Station of Housesteads, and on some Mithraic Antiquities discovered there, in a Letter from the REV. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary, to the REV. A. HEDLEY, of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Read December 3, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,

Upper Heworth, Nov. 22, 1822.

SINCE I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Gibson, Mr. Hodgson, and yourself, at Housesteads, on the 23d of July last, my professional engagements, and a long series of domestic afflictions, have, from day to day, put it out of my power to arrange the notes I have taken at different times among the ruins of that station, and to offer my promised observations on the Mithraic antiquities lately discovered there.

The study of Antiquities seems to have been little cultivated among the English prior to the time of Henry the Eighth. The Greeks, who had fled before the Turks, with the lamp of learning, from their own country into Italy, and the almost contemporaneous invention of the Art of Printing, spread all over Europe that spirit of enquiry, and that intense application to letters, which contributed to produce the Reformation, and to bring out that constellation of talent, which began to shine in Henry's reign, and continued into those of his children. In this, Leland was not one of the least of the luminaries. He obtained from Henry the title of "Antiquary to the King," and travelled six years all over the kingdom, making notes and collecting materials for extensive works on the History and Antiquities of the kingdom.

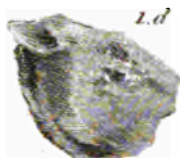
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His observations on the Roman Wall and the stations upon it are, however, of a general nature, and contain internal evidence, that he never visited the neighbourhood of the place to which our present enquiries are directed. His information, he tells us, was derived chiefly from Dr. Delaval, the Master of St. Mary's Hospital, in the Westgate, in Newcastle; and from the Vicar of Corbridge: and from the former of these sources he learnt, that "betwyxt Thyrwall and North Tyne, yn the wast ground stondeth yet notable peaces of the wall, the which was made *ex lapide quadrato*, as yt there appeereth yet."

Camden's account of the Roman antiquities in Northumberland, from the first edition of his *Britannia* to that in 1594, is also very slight. In the edition of 1590, he says, that "the Wall after leaving Cumberland and passing the Irthing, shows, in the first place, the carcase of a castle, which they now call Caervorran;" and tells us that "at Carraw and Waltonne, there are manifest remains of old fortifications." This is all the information he gives us of the state of the Wall between the North Tyne and the Tippal. In 1600, he, however, came into the North with his friend Mr. Cotton, and saw some parts of the Wall near Caervorran, from which place, he says, it "goes on more winding by Iverton, Forsten, and *Chester-in-the-Wall* near Busy-Gap, infamous for robbers, where I was told there were castles, for it was not safe to visit them for the moss-troopers on the borders. They told us that *Chester was a very great place*. Here," he says, "is the inscription "PRO SALUTE DESEDIANI, &c." and at Melkriq* they procured the altar "DEÆ SYRIÆ," which they took away with them. This Chester, or Chester-in-the-Wall, is, I have no doubt, the same as Housesteads, which is only about half a mile west of Busy-Gap.

Dr. Hunter, in a letter, dated May 15, 1702, respecting some antiquities found here, says, that Housesteads is "a place *so called from the abundance of ruins*" at it, and amongst which he "found several

* "Where women beat their bucks (*i. e.* washings) upon it."—*Holland*, p. 219.



pedestals, two or three pillars, two images, but somewhat defaced,"* and several inscriptions.

The strong impressions, which this remarkable place produced on the minds of other antiquaries, who visited it in the beginning of last century, may be conceived from the descriptions they have left of it. Gordon, whose *Itinerary* was published in 1727, says, it "is unquestionably the most remarkable and magnificent Roman Station in the whole island." "It is hardly credible what a number of *august remains of Roman grandeur* is to be seen here to this day, seeing in every place, where one casts his eye, there is some curious antiquity to be seen, either the marks of streets, and temples in ruins, or inscriptions, broken pillars, statues, and other pieces of sculpture scattered all over the ground."—"We caused the place to be dug where we were sitting amidst the ruinous streets of this famous oppidum."

Horsley died in 1732, in which year his *Britannia* was published. His cool and accurate style is never brightened up with the least attempt at colouring; yet he calls the place *the famous Station of Housesteads*; and adds:—"There may be two or three other stations in Britain, as Burdoswald, Elenborough, and Lanchester, that exceed this in the number of inscriptions; but none, I think, equal it as to the extent of the ruins of the town, or the number, variety, and curiosity of the sculptures, which yet remain here."†—"The vast ruins of the Roman station and town are truly wonderful."§

Gale and Stukely visited it in August, 1725, and "had reason to be surprised with such a scene of Roman British antiquities as they had never beheld." They "transcribed and drew an incredible number of the finest altars, inscriptions, and noble sculptures, in large letters and excellent work; all of which Dr. Stukely, when he wrote his *Carausius*, had by him unpublished. "Many of them," says he, "are engraved by Gordon and Horsley, but they have not done them justice."

* Phil. Trans. vol. xxiii. p. 1131.

† Horsley, p. 219.

§ Ib. p. 148.

And, finally, Mr. Brand, who was here in 1779, tells us that Dr. Stukely, with great propriety, calls this place "*the Tadmor of Britain*;" and that an "immense quantity of ruins denote the site of this once famous station."*

By the concurrent testimony of the *Notitia Imperii*, and of numerous inscriptions found in and near it, it is clear that the Roman name of this place was BORCOVICUS, and that it was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Tungrians, a people, who inhabited both sides of the Maese, in Belgic Gaul.

It is seated opposite to the thirtieth mile stone from Newcastle, and on the ridge of the line of basaltic rocks, along which the Wall runs from Sewenshiels to Caervorran. It measures within the walls "from north to south about five chains, and from east to west about seven."† Severus's wall forms its north rampart.

The southern part of it is upon a very quick descent, and the foundations, both of its walls and all its buildings, rest immediately upon the basalt, which appears in many places rugged and bare, and especially in the street, which leads north from the southern gateway.

The interior still consists of vast masses of grass-grown ruins. One heap in the south west compartment, and near the south wall, has, I think, been a sudatory, or adapted to some purpose for which a hypocaust was necessary, as the pillars and the cement, composed of brick, pebbles, limestone, and calx of lime, which are usually found in such buildings, may be seen, where the ruins are not covered with weeds and moss.

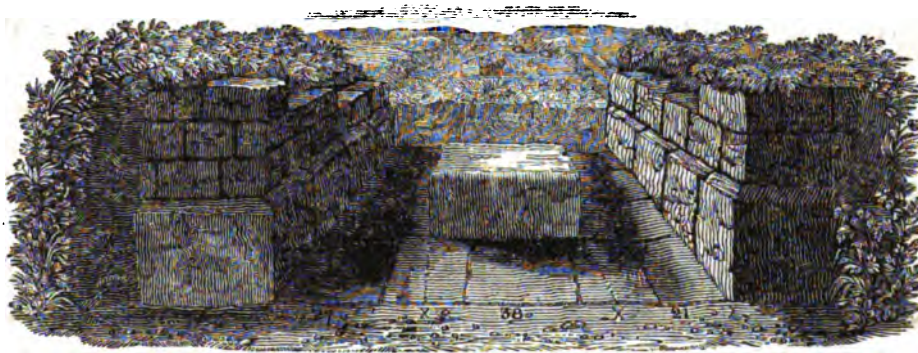
I found on the spot a traditionary belief that there were subterraneous chambers near the middle of it; and employed some workmen to clear away the ruins and rubbish near the remains of a flight of steps, which were supposed to lead downwards. They, however, soon came to the face of the whin-stone rock, presenting the same weather-beaten appearance, which it unquestionably had before a Roman hammer

* Hist. of Newcastle, vol. i. p. 610.

† Horsley, p. 148.

sounded upon it, and seeming to bear very defying features of resistance to the art of the miner. At the foot of these steps we found a heap of decayed mineral coals, and a quantity of such ashes and scoria as are produced in smitheries in which mineral coal is used. The place in the form of an inverted cone, a little to the east of the steps, is of modern construction, and has probably been intended for a kiln for drying malt, or for some such purpose.

In the short intervals between the showers, which fell on the 22d of July, I also employed two workmen to clear away the rubbish from the southern gateway, the corner-stone of which on the west side has a rude scarcement upon it, and is somewhat of a Cyclopæan size. From the outer wall-line inwards, as far as the rubbish was removed, the passage-way, which measured seven feet two inches, was laid with large freestone flagging, pretty well squared and jointed, but obstructed by a stone three feet two inches long, standing about one foot high above the flagging, and placed nearly two feet within the outer wall-line thus:—



The lower bed of this stone was hewn, and laid on the same level as the under surface of the flagging, which was closely jointed to it. Its

upper surface was somewhat uneven, as if it had been worn by treading. The flagging, too, on each side was much hollowed and worn down by treading, as if the persons passing in and out had had some obstruction put in their way, which caused them to turn sideways, and always step in the same place.

From the threshold outwards the way was made of small pieces of rounded basalt, cones of ill-burnt limestone, and gravel, amongst which I picked up a piece of very solid glass of a paleish green colour, which had been cast in a mould, and was of the same kind as some larger specimens, which Mr. Adamson and myself, in 1817, found within the area of the station at Caervorran.

The width, as here given, is from actual admeasurement; but the height of the side wall, the arrangement of the masonry, and the perspective, are drawn, I hope pretty faithfully, from memory.

The stone used in the inside of the walls, and for other ordinary purposes, has been quarried out of the cliffs in the sandstone ridge, along which the present military road passes. The altars, columns, coins, and much of the ashlar work, have been taken from a stratum of freestone on the north side of the Wall, and similar to that in which the recesses, called the *King and Queen's Caves*,* on the south side of Bromley Lough, are formed.

The only Well, which I saw near the station, is in front of the house, and at present in use. It affords, through the whole of the year, a plentiful supply of water, and is sunk through two yards of soil and three of very compact whinstone. The hind at Housesteads told me that in dry weather in summer, when it is "ebbest" of water, "they

* In 1817, I examined the faces of all the remarkable rocks near the Wall from Caervorran to Sewenshiels for inscriptions; but found nothing of the kind, excepting a very rude representation of a human being, with something like an ensign in its right hand, apparently executed with a pick, in one of these caves; and five yards from this figure, there is a rude cross, very legible and deep; but whether formed by design, or furrowed by the hand of time, I could not venture to decide.

lave it out," for the purpose of cleaning it. If there be any well within the station, it is probable that it is formed in the basalt, to the depth at least of the boggy ground, immediately to the north of the Wall.

The ruins of the Bath are on the east side of the brook, which divides the Kennell and Housesteads estates. Mr. Dryden, the proprietor of Kennell, told me, that a quantity of stones were "won" out of it about forty-three years since, when a fine inscribed altar was found in it, and taken away by Mr. Bullock, then steward to Mr. Errington of Beaufront. The flues of the hypocaust were full of soot, and there was an iron grating in the front of it, and in other parts much iron soldered into the stone with lead. Nearly all its walls to the foundation have been taken up, and the stones of them used in the field walls to the south east of it. Much of its interior, in a sadly ruined state, is still remaining. In 1810, the floors of its basins appeared on the edge of the brook, composed of the usual cement found in Roman baths, and laid alternately with two layers of thin freestone slates, the under surface of the lower of which was black with fire. A great flood, occasioned by the rain that fell in a thunder storm in the hot weather, in June, 1817, broke up the foundations of this building, both in the channel of the brook, and in Mr. Gibson's side of the wall, and swept them away into the inges below. These foundations were of very large ashlar laid on fine clay. The whin rock had been quarried away to a plain surface, to make room for the area of the bath, and for the sake of commencing all its walls on the same level. At its lower corner the rock under it has the appearance of baked schist.* The tyles found in it are red, and intimately mixed with coarse sand. Amongst the common mortar of its walls I found a part of the shell of

* This appearance I have found through the whole range of the basaltic cliffs from Glenwhelt to Thockrington, that species of rock passing through every variety of stratum, either exposed to day in the ravines, or found in the mines in its course. Near Cock-Play and Swinburne Mill the schist is nearly as hard as Welch roofing slate. The coal beds on the south side of the basalt are charred close to it, out of which state they pass into a soft sooty

Venus Islandica. There are also found in it (as in the neighbourhood of almost all the Roman stations which I have visited) considerable quantities of limestone, having partly the character of stalagmite, and partly that of such cellular stone as forms about the mouths of petrifying wells.* Some of it is in amorphous lumps; but the greater part of it has been either sawn into rectangular pieces, or formed in a fluid state in moulds.

Where a flat stone is set up in a meadow called Grospoolhole, on the north side of the station, there is a circle of nine yards in diameter, the verge of which is hemmed with a mound, that produces grass of richer green than the ground about it. Has it the custody of the ashes of some Roman soldier? The people say, that a chorus of fairies, who live in caves in the neighbouring rock, give it the deepness of its verdure in their moon-light dances. A little farther to the east, close under the north side of the Wall, there is a basin thirty yards across, and ten feet deep next to the Wall, and six at its entrance, apparently made by human labour; but whether it was used by the Tungrian cavalry as an amphitheatre, or is merely the alveus of an ancient quarry, it is vain to conjecture.

Knagg-burn, which runs past the bath out of the mosses of the forest of Lowes, the brook from the neighbourhood of Bradley, and indeed all the water which falls within the extensive basin, which the eye overlooks towards Kennel, runs into Grinden Lough, from the west end of

substance, and then gradually again into the coal common to each stratum. This is particularly the case in the Blenkinsop and Haltwhistle-Common coal mines; in the latter of which, a little to the east of Caervorran, the coal is, as I have been told, in a solid and compact form, having in some respects obtained the character of graphite and become incombustible. It is said to be in a similar state in one part of the Town-moor of Newcastle.

* There is a very curious stratum of tufaceous limestone, in the parish of Kirkhaugh, near Alstone Moor, which resembles this in the character of being porous; but differs from it in being much lighter, and not having the same decided appearance of having been formed by incrustation and stalagmitical deposition.

which it finds its way, by subterraneous passages, a mile and three-quarters in length, through a stratum of limestone into Bardon-burn. In winter, when the swallow-holes are too small to admit the water as it falls, the lake overflows its summer boundaries, and extends itself over the meadows and pastures as far as the military way near Kennel.

The prospect from the station from the south-east to the south-west is very extensive, taking in, in its range, the high land about St. Oswald's chapel, the plantations of Minsteracres, Langley Castle, Gelston Moor, and the hills on each side of Knaredale. Behind it, to the north, is the vast and almost pathless solitude of the forest of Lowes, here and there studded with a few enclosures, a farm house, or a shepherd's shield; and, in places, enlivened with grassy, limestone gairs, edged about with beds of deep ling, or impassable peat-mosses.

The ridge, on which the station stands, as far as Bradley to the west, is covered with a fine soil, which rests on limestone, and is thrown into long lines of regular terraces, a mode of culture, which, I think it probable, was introduced here by the Romans, and is very suitable to the sloping position of the ground.

Immediately to the south and south-west, the brow of the hill is covered with the ruins of very extensive suburbs, amongst which are lying fragments of massy columns and carved stones; but, in general, the streets and the heaps of decayed buildings are overgrown with nettles, "hemlock, and rank fumitory."

The inges, or moist meadows, which occupy the valley from Kennel bridge to Housesteads, may perhaps at some period be found to contain the common burial ground of the station. I infer this from the frequent discovery of urns and sepulchral remains in similar grounds near to Rochester, in Redesdale; and in your estate at the Bowers, as well as from the ruins of temples and other buidings, which lie along their southern margin.

These inges, in ancient times, have been covered with birch, willow, and hazel trees, as appears by the great quantities of the two former

kinds of wood, and of the nuts of the latter, which have been met with in cutting drains through them. Indeed, in Mr. Wallis's time, they were over-run with brush-wood, and particularly with the sweet-scented willow. Forty years since they were ridded of bushes, and since that time have been gradually assuming a firmer consistence and thicker sward, by the improvements made in them by draining.

On the west side of Knagg-burn, where it enters the inges, the ground is irregular, with the remains of considerable buildings. Here, close to a hedge, Horsley saw three female figures (NORTH. L.) seated each in a separate chair, and a broken altar of the largest size, but no visible letters upon it; and there is at present lying here a broken column, about four feet long and seven feet in circumference.

At the head of these inges, and opposite to the station, is a gentle ridge caused by the protuberance of a freestone rock, and which bears the name of *The Chapel-hill*. At present it is pretty thickly covered with soil and grass, and is still a little unequal with the remains of buildings; but the plough has gone over it, and the materials of the buildings have been removed, probably to make the adjoining wall, which, according to Dr. Stukely, was in 1728, "composed of dry Roman stones and fragments of carved work, thrown one upon another in the rudest manner, in order to make a sorry fence to a meadow."

On this hill, in 1702, Dr. Hunter found the altar dedicated to Jupiter by Q. Verius Superstes; that by Q. Jul. Maximus, which wants the superscription I. O. M. on its capital; and the base of the altar numbered XLIV. in Horsley's Northumberland, which he says, had been torn up by the plough before he was there, and of which he was in hopes of recovering the remaining part as soon as the harvest of that year was over. The people on the spot told him that "within the memory of their fathers they used to bury their dead here," but he adds,—“ I dare not determine this point.”

Horsley says, that the "altars" and other antiquities, numbered from XXXVI. to XLVIII. in his work, "were dug up at a place called the

Chapel-hill, supposed to be the ruins of a considerable temple;" and Wallis tells us that "it was of the Doric Order, a large fragment of a Doric capital lying prostrate by it some years ago, consisting of two toruses plain, also many columns;" but this is an inference drawn, and, I think, very unjustly, from Stukely's account, which evidently places this Doric temple on the slope of the hill, and either in or very near the station.

Immediately to the west of Chapel-hill, where a plot of gently swelling ground begins to slope off into the angle formed by one runnel from the north and another from the west, the antiquities represented in the annexed plate were discovered in June last; together with some uninscribed altars, and other articles of little antiquarian value. Some workmen, who were employed by Mr. Gibson to build a dry stone fence at a short distance to the west of this place, and had permission from him to dig up for that purpose any loose stones or old walls, on condition that they neither used nor destroyed any that were inscribed or curiously carved, after removing a few loose stones near the surface, struck upon the top of the altar, No. 7. The perfect state of its finely carved horns and incense basin induced them to remove away the soil and rubbish around it with great caution; and in the progress of this curious and careful investigation, they found the spot in which they were working, bounded by four walls of common masonry. These walls faced the four chief points of the winds, and formed a rectangular area twelve feet eight inches from north to south, by ten feet from east to west, and having in the west end a recess thirty inches deep and seven feet long. The east wall to the level of the floor, which was between four and five feet below the surface, was faced on both sides; but the other three, and especially the west one, did not appear to have ever been so on their outsides, which were rough and irregular, as if they had originally been built below the level of the adjoining ground. The floor was paved with thick sandstone slates of irregular sizes and shapes. The two large

inscribed altars, and the stone bearing the zodiac, were still standing in their first situation, their backs being nearly in a line with the outside of the recess. No. 3. also appeared to occupy its original place; but No. 1. *a*, was lying on its face before the zodiac, and No. 2. on one side immediately behind it, and on a sort of pedestal of hewn stone, thirty inches square, but very slightly raised above the level of the floor. The fragments, No. 1. *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, were near No. 1. *a*. The rubbish cleared out consisted of fine mould, slightly intermixed with peat moss, decayed roots of small trees, and such unhewn stones as the side walls were made of.

The head of the largest altar appears to have been slightly affected by the weather; that of No. 6. considerably so, the words DEO SOLI being almost wholly eaten out of it; but the base and the body of each of them are still as fresh and perfect, as on the day in which they were turned off the bench of the workman who hewed them.

Though there had been a long continuance of dry weather till the day before I met you there, yet you will remember, that the sides and floor of the place I have been describing, were still oozy and wet; and upon enquiry I found, that a considerable feeder of water used to rise on this spot, till about the year 1809, when a drain (*x. x.*) was made to its north-east corner, where the spring burst off, and from whence it has continued to run ever since, under cover, into the letch fed by the springs in the field immediately to the north.

At the time this drain was made, great quantities of stones were also dug out of the foundations of very extensive walls to the east of the room containing the altars, and employed in making the drain *x. x.* and a field wall to the west of Housesteads. From the information I procured on the spot, from the hind at Housesteads and his sons, I was well satisfied, that the door-way in the east wall of this room communicated with the inside of some of the apartments, which these extensive foundations enclosed.

This was an artificial cave, dedicated to the worship of Mithras, and

in itself and the antiquities found in it, affords one of the finest and most copious illustrations of the nature of that worship, of any that has been hitherto discovered. Concerning Mithras much curious information may still be derived from the religious books, the histories, traditions, and antiquities of the Persians, and out of the writings of the Greek and Roman authors; but most of all out of Porphyry, who, in a critique upon the following description in Homer's *Odyssey*, of the Cave of the Nymphs in the island of Ithica, shows an accurate acquaintance with the Mithraic ceremonies, as practised in his time, in the Roman Empire.

“ A broad-leaved olive decks the haven's head,
 “ Near to a cave, how lovely ! but how dark !
 “ The holy place of Nymphs, the Naïds called.
 “ There goblets are, and jars of marble made,
 “ Wherein the honey-bee constructs its cells :
 “ There, too, long looms of stone, on which the nymphs
 “ Sea-purple garments weave, a wond'rous sight.
 “ Fountains it has eternal, and two gates,
 “ The northern one to men admittance gives,
 “ That to the south is more divine—a way
 “ Untrod by men—t' immortals only known.”

This he takes to be an allegorical sketch of the rites and doctrines of a religion, which prevailed in Homer's time, and in the course of his explanation of the symbols contained in this passage, he observes that, “ the ancients consecrated caves and grottoes* very appositely to the world, making a part of it stand for the whole. For they made the earth the symbol of the matter out of which the world was formed. For the world, when contemplated as a mass of matter, is gloomy and dark ; but when

* “*Ἄντρα καὶ σπήλαια.* Ammonius censet, “*ἀντρα* esse cavernas sponte ortas ; *σπήλαια* vero manufactas.—*Vossius, sub voce, antrum.*”

viewed in connection with the contrivance that is seen in it, and with that admirable order from which it has derived the name of *Cosmos*, it is full of beauty and cheerfulness. Hence it may be aptly enough called a cave, delightful to one just stepping into it, on account of the share he has in the beauty of its parts; but dark to him who would explore its depths, and penetrate it with his mind. So that the things, which are exterior and superficial, are delightful; those, that are internal and profound, are obscure. Thus the Persians typified the descent of souls into inferior regions, and their return from them by initiating a priest in a place, which they called a Cave.* For, according to Eubulus, Zoroaster first of all, in mountains, which bordered upon Persia, consecrated a natural cave to Mithras, the Father and Creator of all things. This cave was adorned with flowers, and pervaded with running waters, and furnished with representations of the cavern of the world, of which Mithras was the architect. This internal furniture was disposed in such a methodical manner, as to afford symbols of the elements and climates of the world. Moreover, after the time of Zoroaster, it continued a custom to perform sacred rites in caves and grottoes, either in such as were natural or artificial. For as men had founded temples, and shrines, and altars to the Olympic Gods; but hearths to the terrestrial gods and the heroes; and pits and *μύγαρα* to the infernal gods; so they set apart caverns and grottoes to the world, which were also sacred to the Nymphs, on account of the water which dropped and flowed in them, and over which they preside. And they not only made a cave the symbol of the natural and sensible world, but also received it as the symbol of all invisible virtues. For as caves are dark, so the essence of the virtues is obscure. And hence Saturn built a cave in the ocean, in which he hid his children. So likewise Ceres educated Proserpine in a cave with the Nymphs. Numerous examples of this kind are to be met with in reading the works of the Theologians. And on these accounts it was, I think, that the Pythagoreans, and after them Plato,

* See also Justin. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 294. Reins. Syntag. p. 94.

were induced to call the world a cave and a grotto. For in Empedocles we hear the Virtues, which are the guides of souls, saying:—

‘ This roofed cavern we have reached at length.’

And in the seventh book of Plato’s Republic it is said :—‘ Behold the men are, as it were, in a subterranean cave, and in a dwelling formed like a grotto, having its entrance opening widely out to the light through the whole of the cave. For the seat, which is visible, is to be compared to lodgings in a prison, but the light of the fire in it to the power of the sun.’ Why the theologians have, therefore, made caverns to be the symbol of the world, and of the powers of the world, is manifestly obvious from these observations.”

In another place, the same author observes, that the ancients, even before temples were thought of, consecrated cells and caverns to the gods: as was done by the Curetes, in Crete, to Jupiter; in Arcadia, to the Moon and the Lycian Pan; in Naxos, to Bacchus; and in every place where Mithras was known, he was propitiated in cells.* Justin Martyr also says, that they, who are addicted to the worship of Mithras, affirm, that he was born from a rock, and call the place a cave.† Statius also advances a similar opinion in the following passage in his Thebaid :‡—

“ Or in a cave, in rocks of Persia hewn,

“ Mithras, who writhes, th’ indignant horns, t’ adore.”

“ The infant Jupiter, the children of Saturn, and the ark-exposed Anias and Bacchus, are all said to have been born and nursed in a sacred cave.”§ Bacchus was surnamed *Dythyrambus*, from being brought up in a cave called *Dythyrytes*, because it had *two gates* ;§

* De Ant. Nymph. p. 263.

† Lib. I. 720.

§ Notes to the Delphin Ovid. Met. iii. 314.

† Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 296.

§ Faber’s Origin of Idol. iii. p. 135.

and in Montfaucon* we have Mithras, in the character of Bacchus, rising out of a cave, and holding up a cluster of grapes, which he seems to admire. On the side of the rock out of which he rises, the word NAMA is inscribed, which is, perhaps, explained in the sculpture immediately below it, in which the words NAMA SEBESIO, *the fountain to Bacchus*, are written on the neck of the bull. For Porphyry says, that caverns are sacred to the Naïds, who have their name from *ναμα*, *a fountain*; and Macrobius tells us, that in Thrace the Sun and Bacchus are the same, whom they call *Sebadius*, which name, Meursius says, ought to be written *Sabaxius*, and quotes Eustatius as his authority, who affirms, that the Sabæ, a people of Thrace, call Bacchus *Sabaxius*.† The symbols and the inscriptions mutually explain each other. The wound in the neck of the bull is the fountain; the blood issuing out of it, is wine; the dog licking the blood, is *Sirius*; all which may be intended to signify the gratefulness of wine during the influence of the Dog Star.

In clearing the rubbish out of the Mithraic cell at Housesteads, some fragments of *præfericula* of red terra-cotta, ornamented with black figures, were found, and were lying amongst the other antiquities by the side of the cell on the 22d of July; but carried off by some of the country people, who were led to the spot on that day by the enquiries and search I was then making. A few observations, connected with these and the spring that rises on the site of the cell, will show that both of them were necessary to make up the series of symbols required to complete a Mithraic cavern.

We have already seen that in the opinion of the Greeks, Mithras and Bacchus were the same Deity; and Porphyry tells us, that “goblets and jars of stone were symbols of the Naïds; and vessels of terra-cotta, of Bacchus; for these are gifts grateful and acceptable to the God of

* Vol. I. p. 233, pl. 96, No. 7 and 10.

† Macro. Sat. lib. 1, cap. 18; also Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 23.

the Vine, since its fruit is ripened by celestial heat; but goblets and jars of stone are proper types of the nymphs, who preside over water which flows out of rocks." "Hence in the rites of Mithras a goblet is the symbol of a fountain."*

Sir R. K. Porter visited "a Mithraic cavern" not far from the ruins of Pasargadæ, called the *Cave of the Forty Daughters*, which he describes as "deep, and containing two or three interior caves, whence issues a particularly translucent spring. The natives told us that it was formerly inhabited by a succession of holy persons. Innumerable old lamps, still left in the place, testify something of the story."†

These testimonies of ancient authors to the mysteries of Mithras being performed in caverns, is corroborated by inscriptions in Gruter and other authors, where we find one person appropriating a cell, *spelium*, DEO SOLI INVICTO MITHRÆ; another dedicating a cell "CUM SIGNIS ET CETERISQUE" to the same deity; and a third, an altar, "ARAM CUM SUIS ORNAMENTIS ET . . . BELA DOMINI INSIGNIA HABENTES N. III VT VOVERAT."‡

Let us now see how these accounts are borne out and agree with

* De Antro Nymph, p. 258, 261. The classic authors abound with descriptions of caves sacred to the Gods and the resort of Nymphs. Ovid, for instance, speaks of caves bedewed with fountains, where Diana and her Nymphs resorted. *Met. lib. iii. l. 177*; and in *lib. xiv. l. 514*, he says, that

Venulus the realms
Of Calydonia, and the Apulean bay,
And fields Mesapian leaves; in which are caves
With thick wood dark, and oozing waters light,
Where lives old Pan the semi-goat; but erst
The dwelling of the Nymphs.

Pan and the Sun were considered as the same by the Arcadians, who called him Innus and Lord of Matter, τὸν τῆς ἡλῆς κύριον *Mac. Statur. I. xxii. p. 331*. There was a cave sacred to Pan and the Moon in Arcadia.—*Porph. de Ant. Nymph. 262*.

† *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 510*.

‡ *Vide Gruter, p. xxxiv. no. 5, 7, 9. Beyer's Addit. ad Seld. de Dis Syris, 53.*

the several inscriptions and sculptures, to the illustration of which our present enquiries are directed. In entering upon the subject, it will, however, serve the purpose of clearness, to give some brief sketch of the history of the Mithraic worship.

The Sun in different nations and times has been worshipped under different names. In Egypt, he was named Osiris; in Phœnicia, Baal; in Thrace, Sebazius, or Bacchus; amongst the Greeks, Apollo; and in Persia, he was called Mithras; a word which, according to Vossius,* is derived from the Persian MITHER, *a Lord*. Hyde says,† that in Persia the Sun, in religious matters, was specially called *Méhr*, a word which, in its primary signification, means *love, commiseration, pity*, which name it has, because it cherishes and renews, and, as it were, embraces the whole world with the tender affection of love. But Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, after some reasoning on the origin of good and evil, tells us, that Zoroaster, who is said to have flourished 5000 years before the Trojan war, called the good god, Oromazes, and the other, Arhimanius; that Oromazes resembled light more than any other sensible thing; Arhimanius, ignorance and darkness; and that there was one between them, named Mithras, for which reason the Persians call a *mediator*, Mithras. It is, however clear, from the same author, that by Mithras they meant the sun; for, in his life of Alexander he says, that Darius invoked Tiræus, one of his Eunuchs, “as he honoured *the mighty light* of Mithras, and the right hand of the king, to tell him if the death of his wife Statira, was not the least of the misfortunes which he had to bewail.”‡ Herodotus, in

* De Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. ii. c. 9.

† Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 105. The word *Mithra* is common in Persian names, as in Mithradates, Mithrobarzanes, Mithropaustes, Mithracenes, &c.

‡ Zenophon says, that Cyrus used to swear by Mithras; Plutarch also makes Artaxerxes swear by him—Νύ τῶν Μίθραν, &c.; and Curtius, (as quoted by Montf. Antiq. Exp. vol. ii. 252,) speaking of the march of Darius against Alexander, says, “he invoked the Sun, Mithras, and the Sacred Fire.”

his account of the Religion of the Persians says, "they worship the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after times "they borrowed from the Assyrians and the Arabians the worship of Urania (or the celestial Venus), whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabians Alytta, and the Persians Mithra."* Indeed, it is plain from antiquity, that this divinity was considered to exist not only in the several characters of a male and a female, but also in that of an hermaphrodite; and this opinion has the support of the best modern authors on the subject. The Chevalier Ramsay says, that "the Persians adored but one supreme deity, called Oromazes; but they considered the God Mythras, and the Goddess Mithra, sometimes as two emanations from the substance of Oromazes, and at others as the first production of his power;"—that "Mithra was the living image of his beauty, the original mother, and the immortal virgin; that she presented to Oromazes the ideas of all things, who gave them to Mythras to form a world resembling those ideas." And again, "in the spaces of the Empyreum, a pure and divine fire extends itself, by means of which not only bodies but spirits become visible. In the midst of this immensity is the great Oromazes, first principle of all things. He diffuses himself everywhere; but it is there that he is manifested in a more glorious manner. Near him is seated the god Mithras, or the second spirit; and under him Psyche, or the goddess Mithra."† Faber says, "like Siva, Osiris, Bacchus, Adonis, Venus, and Minerva, Mithras was an hermaphrodite, and was venerated at once as the sun and the moon; that is to say, as the god both of the solar and the lunar gate. That he was the sun is well known; but Herodotus informs us that he was called the moon, and the same as Mylitta, the Assyrian Venus, or female principle of generation. Or if we suppose *Mithra* to be rather the feminine of *Mithras*,

* See Encyclop. Methodiq.—Antiq. under Mihir. Beloe's Herod. Clio, 131, vol. i. p. 135. Also Strabo, lib. ii. and Justin, lib. i.

† Travels of Cyrus, book ii.

as *Jana* is of *Janus*, and *Maia* of *Maius*, the position will be virtually the same.* In this hermaphrodite capacity he is not difficult to be recognised in the following passage:—"There is amongst the Brachmins, in India," says Bardisanes, as quoted by Porphyry, "a natural cave of great magnitude in a very lofty mountain, near the middle of the earth; and in it a statue of ten or twelve cubits in height, having its hands crossed, the right side exhibiting all the parts of a man, and the left those of a woman. In the right breast the figure of the sun is sculptured, on the left that of the moon. In the two arms the artist has carved a great number of angels, and of other things which the world contains, as mountains, the sea, a river, the ocean, plants and animals, and every individual creature.†

Without entering into the controversy about the era in which Zoroaster flourished, or the still more dubious questions,—who was the founder of the Mithraic worship, and when it commenced,—we can with great certainty affirm, that it prevailed in Persia before the time of Herodotus, who wrote 440 years before Christ; but it does not appear to have been known to the Romans till about 350 years after that time; for Plutarch tells us that the pirates against whom Pompey was sent into Cilicia, A. U. C. 685, after plundering and destroying many temples, which till then had been held sacred and inviolable, "celebrated foreign sacrifices, those for instance of the town of Olympus, and performed certain hidden rites, of which those of Mithras are kept up even until now, and which first began with them." From the time of their being introduced to the knowledge of the Romans by the pirates, to the year A. D. 101, I have met with no notice of them: in that year a dedication occurs‡ to Mithras; and Pallas, in Porphyry,§ mentions the Mithraic mysteries in connection with the abolition of human sacrifices, by the Emperor Hadrian, who reigned from A. D. 117

* Faber Orig. of Pag. Idol, vol. iii. p. 182.

† De Styge, p. 283. Ed. Cantab. 1655.

‡ Gruter, p. xxxv. 2.

§ De Abst. lib. ii. sec. 56, p. 94.

to 137.. Plutarch, we have just seen, says, they were kept up in his time and he died in A. D. 140. During the reign of Commodus they are frequently mentioned: * also in A. D. 197; † and about this time they had extended all over the western Empire; and from their prevalence and the openness with which they were professed, appear not only to have been tolerated, but to have been the favourite and fashionable religion of the Romans. A taurine tablet of Mithras was found at York in 1747, ten feet below the surface of the earth. Dr. Stukely saw an image of him at Chester, which is given by Horsley, ‡ who also has an inscription that mentions him, found at Cambeck-fort, in Cumberland. We shall presently see that he continued to be worshipped at Housesteads in A. D. 253.

No. 1. *a*. This sculpture is in very high relief, and, with the fragment of it represented by the wood-cut at page 287, measures nearly six feet in height. It was found, lying on its face, immediately in front of the zodiac. By comparing that which remains of it with the delineations of similar, but more perfect, sculptures in Montfaucon and other authors, it will be seen, that it is only part of a very large table. That of the same kind which was found at York, in 1747, is described by Dr. Stukely in the Philosophical Transactions, § and figured in Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia. When perfect, we suppose this to have represented Mithras, habited in a candys and Persian tisra, kneeling in a spirited posture on the back of a prostrate bull, the head of which he pulls back, by a horn or its muzzle, with his left hand, while, with his right, he plunges a dagger into its neck. One fore leg of the bull is usually bent under its body; the other stretched out. In seven of the sculptures in Montfaucon, || Mithras is also attended with two

* Gruter, p. xxxv. 1. Lampridius in the Life of Commodus. Reinesii Syntag. Vet. Insc. p. 89.

† Reines. Syntag. p. 89.

‡ Gent. Mag. 1751, p. 102. and Horsley's Brit. Rom. Cheshire, no. V.

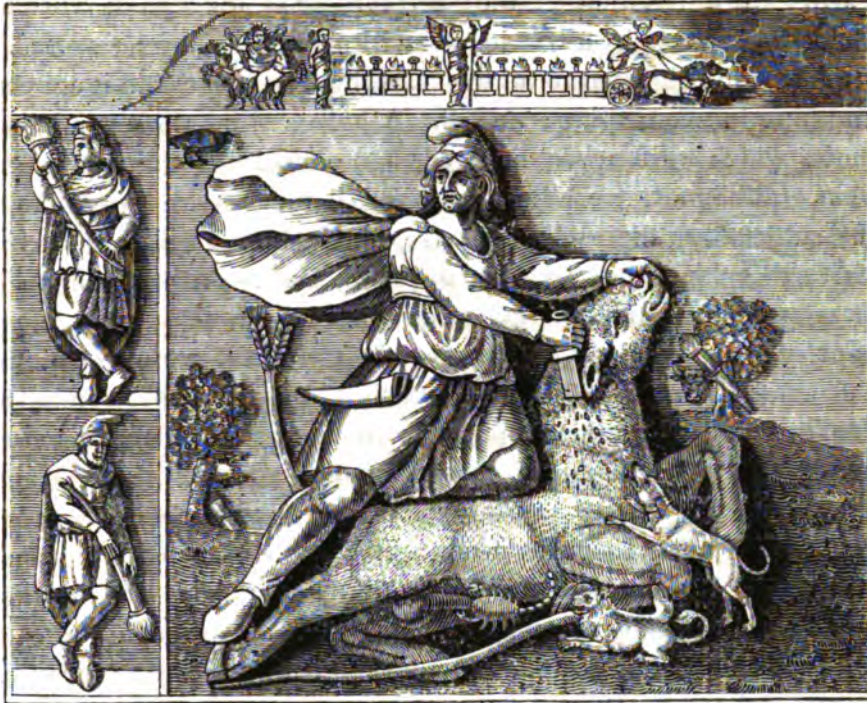
§ No. 493, p. 214.

|| Antiq. Explained vol. i. p. 233, pl. 96. Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. iii. tab. 1.

torchbearers, clad like himself, and with the figures of a lion, crow, scorpion, serpent, crab, dog, or other signs, either of the zodiac, or some planet or constellation.

Montfaucon thinks these two attendants are also Mithrases ; and that he, who is before, represents the rising sun ; he, on the bull, the sun at noonday ; and the one, to the right hand of the spectator, the setting sun. And he is further confirmed in this opinion by a marble, which Gruter describes, in which these young men have each a star over their heads, one of which he says is the star of the east, the other of the west. If, however, under the silence of antiquity on the subject, we be allowed to hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of these symbols, I see no objection against the supposition, that, with the centre figure, they were intended to represent Mithras or the sun, in a triple state ; and that in the capacity, in which they are here placed, they are the genii, or guides of souls, passing through the two gates mentioned by Homer in his description of the cave of the nymphs. On these gates Porphyry is very diffuse. In the theology of the ancients he says, they represent the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. That Cancer being in the north, and the sign of the summer solstice, is the way, by which souls descend *ἐκ γένου* ; and that the way to the abode of the gods is by Capricorn, which is in the south, and the sign of the winter solstice. "The gates," he adds, "which look towards the north, are rightly said to be open to the descent of men ; but the southern quarter is not merely the way of the gods, but of those going up to the gods. For which cause Homer does not say, the way of the gods, but of immortals."* Indeed this, in a measure, seems to be the view, which M. Depuis has taken of the matter, in his account of the sculpture represented by the following wood-cut:—

* De Antro Nympharum, p. 264.



“The points of the equinoxes,” he says, “are represented on one side by a bull, or by the head of a bull, suspended in a tree covered with leaves, in which also hangs a lighted torch; on the other side is a tree loaden with fruit, to which a reversed and extinguished torch is attached, and at its foot is a scorpion. All this is designed for nothing more than the two signs of the equinoxes, the state of light, and the departure of the sun; the birth and death of nature, the limits of the empire of light and darkness, of good and evil, of the reign of Oromazes and of that of Arhiman. So likewise are the two genii on the right, which are habited nearly like Mithras, one of which bears a lighted flambeau pointing upwards, the other, one extinguished. The

one is the genius of Taurus, or of the animal, whose blood fecundates the earth; the other, that of the Scorpion, or of the sign of Autumn, which we find placed by a tree loaden with fruit and a torch reversed.”*

But it may be objected to all this, that, however plausible it appears, it is nothing but conjecture; that the Mithraic signs were symbols of mysteries which were never divulged, and concerning which antiquity is silent. It cannot, we allow, be asserted that any regular treatise on the subject has descended to these times; but, I think, that very satisfactory evidence may be found to prove, that the two attendants on Mithras were the guides, or guardians, of souls in their passage into and out of life. No one disputes that the caduceus, which we find in the left hand of the figure under illustration, was one of the symbols of Mercury, who is constantly represented as the guide of souls from the higher to the lower regions.† The Egyptians, according to Macrobius, asserted, that it was an emblem of the generation of men, *quæ genesis appellatur*.‡ Indeed, the author of one of the Mithraic sculptures in Hyde has not left this office of the genius of the northern gate to be explained by the unambiguous symbol, the unfolding leaf of the lotos, which he places behind him; but confirms the Egyptian exposition of the meaning of the caduceus, by an exhibition which cannot be misunderstood; while, in the palm-branch, with the skull in the middle of it, he strengthens our hypothesis, that the figure on the right side of the Mithraic tables, is the genius of Homer’s southern gate; for, among the Abraxas gems,§ we find Anubis (the Mercury of the Egyptians) represented with the caduceus in his left hand, and a palm-branch in his right; and Apuleius tells us, “that this errand-goer both of the heavenly and infernal gods was carried aloft in the processions of Isis, having his face sometimes black, at others gilded, stretching

* Encycl. Methodique. Antiq. art. *Mithras*.

† Phornuti de Natur. Deor. Specul. ed. Lugd. 1608, fol. 6. Macrobi. Sat. lib. 1. cap. xvii.

‡ Sat. lib. i. c. xix.

§ Montfaucon ii. 230, pl. 50.

forth his long dog's neck, and bearing the caduceus in his left hand, and shaking a green palm branch in his right."* Now Porphyry, speaking of the rigid severities practised among the Egyptians, previous to the observance of any great religious festival, says, "they slept upon beds made of the boughs of the palm or date tree, which they call, '*baïs*,'" a word, which, according to Pignoriust, signifies in the language of Hierapolis, *the soul*. Apuleius calls† it, *palma victrix*; and says, that the sandals of the moon were made of its leaves. I would, therefore, infer, that the hieroglyphic of the palm-branch and the skull was meant to convey the idea of the soul triumphing over death, and in this sense it appears to be placed with great propriety behind the genius of the gate, which leads to the abode of the immortals.

That this exposition is entitled to some consideration, it will be further apparent from an enquiry into the meaning of the lunette, a symbol in the Mithraic mysteries. On our table, only a fragment of it is



left, as in the annexed wood cut. What accompaniments it had, when perfect, it would be idle to conjecture. In two of the sculptures in Montfaucon, and in two others in Hyde, the bust of the moon is placed over the genius of descending souls, with a crescent either on her forehead, or behind her shoulders: and in each sculpture the bust of the sun occupies a corresponding situation over the genius of ascending souls. Now Macrobius says, "there can be no doubt that the moon is the author and framer of mortal bodies:"‡ and Porphyry tells us,

* Metamorph. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 693. ed. Basil, 1560.

† Mensæ Isiacæ Expos. fol. 10. a, ed. Venet. 1605. ‡ De Asin. Aureo l. xi. vol. ii. p. 643.

|| In Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. xi.

that the moon is the "queen of generation;" and elsewhere that "Plato mentions two doors, one of which is open to such as are ascending to heaven; the other, to those coming down to the earth. And thus the theologians make the sun and moon the gates of souls, and say, that they ascend by the sun, and descend by the moon"* But I forbear to load my letter with further quotations from the works of the ancients, in illustration of this part of my subject; many of whom, and Porphyry especially, contain curious notices, mixed with much unintelligible jargon, respecting the various views in which the Mithraic gates were taken. There is, however, some reasoning in Macrobius, which seems to throw considerable light on the meaning of the principal figures on these tablets, and with it I shall conclude this part of my enquiry. Mercury, he says, and the sun were the same deity, and among the Egyptians the former was painted with his lower wing of an azure colour, by which the sun's course through the winter signs was represented: the upper wing was clear, and showed his progress through the summer part of the zodiac. In the fable of Argus being slain, and his eyes put out by Mercury, Argus is the heavens, lighted up by stars, and watching over the earth, which the Egyptians, in their hieroglyphics, represent by an ox. The starry vault of heaven is, therefore, then said to be killed by Mercury, when the sun, as it were, subdues the stars by obscuring them in the day time, and by hiding them from our eyes in the brightness of his own light.†

The fragments of this table, represented by figures 1. *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, were found near the middle of the cave; and, by the cleanness and freshness of their fractures, appeared as if they had been very recently broken off. This, however, might be owing to their having been buried at a depth in the earth, where the uniform consistence and temperature, imparted to the soil by the springs about the cave, would preserve them for many years in the same state. It was plain that

* De Antro Nymph. p. 268.

† Sat. lib. i. cap. xix.

they had been stricken off with a hammer and by design—I would say, to give the stone on which they were formed a flatter bed, and thus make it useful for building purposes, or as a cover for a drain, not with any view of destroying a carving, which was viewed in the light of a pagan idol, and on that account abominated.

Figure 1. *b*, is the shoulder knot of the *candys*, as Lucian calls it, of “Mithras the Mede, who also wore a tiara; but could neither speak Greek, nor know when people drank his health.”

Figure 1. *c*. is the right hand of Mithras, grasping the dagger, with which he stabs the bull.

Figure 1. *e*, is broken in two. I suppose it to be the figure of a dog in a rampant posture, having its fore feet upon the neck of the bull, for the convenience of licking its blood. In an astrological sense it might represent the constellation Canis, or rather Sirius, which is the principal star in Canis; for, according to Plutarch, when Oromazes had amplified himself three times, and removed himself as far from the sun as the sun is from the earth, he embellished the heavens with stars, one of which he made superior to all the rest, and as it were, the guide and guardian of them all, namely, Sirius, or the dog-star. Porphyry however, endeavours to show, that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was intended to be shadowed out by these symbols. For, in speaking of the religion of the Persians, he tells us, that “the highest order of the Magi neither ate nor killed any animal; that the second order slaughtered no tame ones; and that the third sort did not lay hands indiscriminately upon all kinds: for their fundamental dogma is, that souls undergo transmigration, which they seem to point out in the mysteries of Mithras; for, in noticing our conformability to animals, they are wont to call us by their names. Thus the priests, who officiate at their orgies, they call lions; the women, hyænas;* and the servants, crows. So likewise those, whom they call *Patres*, or fathers,

* This should probably be lionesses, the text having *λύαινας* instead of *λαίνας*. See notes to the Cambridge ed. of Porphyry.

are denominated eagles and hawks. But he, who is initiated into those rites, of which the lion is the symbol, assumes the forms of various animals. Concerning which Pallas gives us a reason in the treatises which he wrote respecting Mithras. For the people, he says, imagine this to have reference to the circle of the zodiac; but the opinion is founded in truth, which makes them allude to the mystery of human souls, which they say are destined to inhabit different kinds of bodies.”*

Figure 2. consists of two fragments of a neatly executed statue in sandstone, three feet high, in the usual Mithraic dress, and bearing something like a torch pointing upwards. When found, it was lying on one of its sides on the square flag-stone immediately behind the zodiac. It was broken in two at the middle of its legs, and wanted its head. Its left arm and the upper part of the torch are also much mutilated. A similar figure, already alluded to as having been seen by Dr. Stukely at Chester, is described by Pennant as dressed in “a Phrygian bonnet, with a little mantle across his shoulders, and a short jacket on his body. He is placed standing with a torch in his hands declining.”†

From the situation in which this statue was found, I suppose it to have stood at the outlet of the cave, representing Mithras as the Genius of the winter solstice and of the mystical gate, which led to the happy mansions of the celestial god Oromazes. Too much of the western wall of the recess had been taken up to enable me to form any correct notion how this symbolical gate was formed, but I could have no doubt that the large, well-hewn stone, upon which the statue was lying, was intended as the first step of the initiated out of “the valley of the shadow of death,” into day-light and scenes of cheerfulness and joy.

* Porph. de Abstin. lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 165, 166. See also concerning the dog-star, under the name Sothis, in the treatise De Ant. Nymph. and in Plutarch de Is. and Osiride; but especially Macrobius In. Som. Scip. lib. i. cap. xvii.

† Tour in Wales, I. 159.

Figure 3. was found at the north-east corner of the cave. It was standing with its back to the wall. The bust of the sun on its capital has seven radii round its head, and is in very rude and low relief. Indeed the whole altar, which is twenty inches high, is a very poor specimen of masonry. The inscription, which is also rude and inaccurately cut, may be englished thus:—

Hieronymus, performing a vow, freely and duly dedicates this to the Sun.

The number 4. near the plan of the Mithraic cave, marks the spot where a plain altar, seventeen inches high, and bearing an illegible inscription, was found. It has the patera on its right side, and the præfericulum on its left.

No. 5. This stone, when perfect, has been four feet high, and two feet and a half broad. The upper part of it has been thinned away, probably for the purpose of making it less top-heavy, by which it has been made more liable to be broken. At present it is in several pieces, and the arms of the figure in the centre, and the signs Cancer and Libra, in the zodiac, are wanting, as well as something on each side of the plane of the lower hemisphere, as fractures in the stone, in these places, plainly show, that the tablet is mutilated there. Enough, however, of this very remarkable, and (as far as I have been able to learn) unique relic, remains to show both its original form, and for what purpose it was constructed: and while we cannot, I think, be wrong in supposing, that it was intended, in common with the “sigus and ornaments” of caves similar to that in which it was found, to convey some dogma or precepts of the Mithraic religion, in a dark and enigmatical manner, I would still ask this meed of praise to it, that, in its solution, there is a more learned, more connected, and more philosophical développement and discovery of the doctrines which it symbolizes, than can be conceded to the taurine tablets. For, while all these bear strong features of resemblance to each other, as well as proofs, that their origin was in some system of Sabianism, there is in the number, variety,

and arrangement of their symbols, a sort of indication, not only that they were not constructed according to any known canon, calculated to teach a stated and uniform system of doctrines, and consequently to offer an equal portion of knowledge to the mind of every aspirant ; but that most of them were the mere common-place productions of very ordinary ministers at the altars of Mithras,—of mystics, who had neither enlightened their minds by any extensive reading, nor methodised their knowledge by any system of reasoning. The caduceus and the crescent on our tablet of this kind, do indeed bespeak, for that which is wanting of it, considerable exemption to this remark, and by thus furnishing us with a sort of argument, that it originated in the same skillful theologian, that designed the zodiacal tablet, excite an unavailing regret that so little should have been left of it. But the sculpture before us, like the Caervorran inscription to Ceres, excites no such feelings. They connect us with men of genius, learning, and piety, who inhabited the bleak mountain-ridges on the line of the Roman wall, in Northumberland, sixteen centuries ago. Marcus Cecilius in his elegant lines to Ceres, gives a masterly and a beautiful example of his skill in Pagan theology. And here we have a table of symbols, disposed in such methodical order (*κατὰ συμμετρικὰ ἀποτάσεις*) to borrow an expression of Porphyry respecting the arrangements of the symbols in the Mithraic caverns, that, on comparing them, it might be supposed, that either that philosopher's exposition of some of the doctrines of the Persian Magi had been derived from this tablet, or the tablet designed from his exposition.

The figure in the centre I take to be that of Mithras, placed between the two hemispheres of the earth, holding a sword in his right hand, and a spiral object in his left. The greater part of which I conceive is either explained, or not obscurely hinted at, in the following passage in Porphyry:—" Now," says he, " since a cave is the image and symbol of the world, Numenius and his friend Cronius say, that there are two extremities in the heavens, of which the southern one is

the winter tropic, and at Capricorn; the northern one, that of summer, and at Cancer: and, because Cancer is the nearest to us, it is very properly assigned to the moon, which is the nearest planet to the earth; but as the southern pole is invisible, therefore Capricorn is given to Saturn, the highest and most distant of the planets. And the signs of the zodiac have their respective situations in the following order, namely:—

From Capricorn to Cancer [upwards].	In the House of the Sun.	From Cancer to Capricorn [downwards].
Cancer, Gemini, Taurus, Aries, Pisces, Aquarius.	The Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.	Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn.

“ Therefore, the theologians have placed these two gates at Cancer and Capricorn. Plato calls them the two doors, *duo τέρματα*. Of these Cancer is the one by which souls come down, and Capricorn that by which they again go up.* Both the Romans and Egyptians had some tradition concerning them. But neither of them make these gates in the east or the west, nor at the equinoxes, that is, at Aries and Libra, but in the south and the north, and the most humid ones in the south; because this cave is sacred to souls and to the river nymphs;† and to souls they are the proper places of production and reproduction. Hence they have assigned to Mithras an appropriate seat at the equinoxes,

* See also a similar and very curious account of the gates of the sun in Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, lib. i. cap. xiii. † See Ovid's Met. lib. i. 576.

and hence he bears the sword of the Ram, which is the zodiacal sign of Mars, and is carried on the Bull, which is the sign of Venus; for Mithras as well as Taurus is the operative cause of all things, and the lord of generation."

The names, *globe*, *orb*, and *sphere*, which the ancients gave to the earth; Ovid's account of its being at equipoise in the air by its own weights;* of its being turned at the creation into the form of a great orb, or ball;† his and Cicero's account of the gravitating nature of its component parts, which makes them tend every way to a centre;‡ Macrobius's description of a method of measuring its diameter;§ and numerous other hints, as well as plain assertions, sufficiently testify that the learned amongst them considered its form to be that of a globe. This opinion is also well supported by Proclus, who describes with great accuracy the five zones of the earth; the cold occasioned at the poles by want of light; and the heat on each side of the equator, by the sun's constant course being between the tropics of Capricorn and Cancer: as well as the division of the our planet into hemispheres at the equator: and, if we be right in supposing that the symbols, between which the figure of Mithras is here placed, are hemispheres, the proof of their being acquainted with the spherical form of the earth becomes irrefragable. This truth was indeed perpetually exemplified to them by the shadows of the earth upon the moon; and analogically by the form of the sun, moon, and planets.

There can, I think, be no doubt that this peculiar seat of Mithras at the equator and between the hemispheres of our globe, was intended to symbolize the sun's entrance into the vernal and autumnal equinoxes; when the sun entered into the summer signs, and the days began to be longer than the nights, he was welcomed with every demonstration of joy. Hence the uplifted sword in his right hand may be intended to show that he is coming forth as a conqueror,

* Met. i. 12. Lucan, v. 94.

† Id. 35. Fasti, vi. 269.

‡ Met. i. 26—369. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 45.

§ In Som. Scip. l. i. c. 20.

at that season, to subdue the earth, or Taurus, which, in the language of astrology, is the house of Venus. For as Macrobius remarks, "the Assyrians affect to believe, that Adonis is returning to Venus, when the sun, having passed the six lower signs of the zodiac, begins his march through our hemisphere with increase of light and day." And, "when the sun emerges from the lower parts of the earth, and passes the bounds of the vernal equinox, encreasing the day, then it is that Venus is glad and beautiful, the fields green with corn, the meadows with grass, the trees with leaves; and hence our ancestors dedicated the month of April to Venus" "The principal matter to be attended to in these ceremonies of the Sun may be collected from hence—that the time of its descent being completed, and the feigned grief performed after their manner, the commencement of the season of fruitfulness is celebrated on the 25th of March, which day they call *Hillaria*, because the Sun then makes the day longer than the night."*

At the autumnal equinox, when the nights began to be longer than the days, when the Sun had perfected the productions of the year, and nature was beginning to sicken and to fall into its annual grave, the mournful period had arrived, when the ceremonies of valediction to the great demiurgic power were to be performed. What the symbol is, which Mithras holds in his left hand, I have been unable to determine. At first sight I supposed it to be a torch; but the part which should represent the flame is much too long, too formally twisted, and too

* Sat. lib. i. c. xxi. "The ancient Persians particularly venerated the bull, from the lessons they had learnt of the Chaldean astronomers, of its association with the sun, when that genial luminary enters the constellation of Taurus, an event which filled the whole nation with joy, as proclaiming the approaching renovation of nature; and the Magi, more clearly to impress upon the people the regenerating power of this celestial conjunction between the divine Mithra and the planetary emblem of the animal most useful in replenishing the earth, ordered that, on great occasions, the bull should be slain in sacrifice to that creative god."—*Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 588.*

near the hand for any thing of that kind, and the drawing of the whole very unlike the torches on the other Mithraic antiquities. From its place, opposite Virgo, it might be supposed to be the *sibulla*, or handful of corn, respecting which Hyde has drawn together much curious information,* and from which the Celestial Virgin had the appellation *Spicifera* :† but its spiral form and single stalk forbid that conjecture.‡ Is it a rock or distaff? and thus explanatory of the “ sea-purple garments,” which Homer mentions in his description of the cave of the nymphs. For Porphyry would have it, that these purple webs were nothing more than human bodies, which are elaborated from blood : and says, that “ *Proserpine* presides over every thing that springs from seeds, and is represented by Orpheus as employed in weaving a web ; and that men in old time called the heaven, *peplum*, as if it was the veil of the celestial Gods.”§ These dark hints will be rendered somewhat clearer by a passage in Macrobius, who says, that “ no one, who has looked into the religion of the Assyrians, will doubt that Adonis is the Sun ; and among them there was formerly the greatest veneration for Venus Architis, and for Adonis, which worship is still preserved among the Phœnicians. For the natural philosophers worshipped the upper hemisphere, which we inhabit, by the name of Venus ; but they called the lower hemisphere of the earth Proserpine. Hence, amongst the Assyrians and Phœnicians the goddess is brought forth weeping, because the sun, in his progress through the twelve signs, enters the part of the lower hemisphere ; for of these twelve signs of the zodiac, six are

* Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 393.

† See before, at p. 107. Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. ii. Mac. Sat. lib. i. cap. xxi.

‡ Macrobius relates that the Sun, under the name of Attis, was portrayed with a pipe and a rod ; that the pipe was the symbol of the winds, which derived their essence from the sun ; and that the rod signified the power of the sun, which governs all things.—*Sat. lib. i. cap. xxi.* In great numbers of the Abraxas gems, that god holds a whip in one hand as driver of the chariot of the sun. In one of them in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, he is in a triune capacity, and holds a sword, a whip, and a torch, on each side.

§ De Ant. Nymf. p. 259.

superior, and six inferior; and when he is in the lower, and the days on that account grow shorter, the goddess is supposed to weep, as if the sun were taken off by a temporary death, and lost and detained by Proserpine, whom we call the deity of the lower circle, and of the antipodes." *



If it should be thought, that the part, which is wanting or mutilated between Virgo and Sagittarius, is too small to admit both Libra and Scorpio in a size any way corresponding with that of the other signs, the difficulty may be explained by supposing that they were represented here after the Chaldaean manner, in which there were only eleven signs, the claws of Scorpio occupying the place of Libra. Hence the astronomical work, attributed to Hyginus, calls the fore part of Scorpio, *Chelé*, *i. e.* the pincers, and represents Scorpio, as on the Farnese globe, holding a balance in its extended claws. Hence also these expressions in Macrobius:—"The whole of Scorpio,

* Sat. lib. i. c. xxi. According to Hyde, the Persian year begins in March, and their seventh month, which is the same as our September, they call *Mîhr-month*, or *Love-month*, "because the sun embraces the whole world with love, and makes it cheerful with his light, cherishes it with his warmth, and renders it fruitful." The 16th day of this month was also called *Mîhr-rus*, because on it the greatest of all the religious festivals of the Magi and ancient Persians, except Nauruz, or New-years-day, commenced. It continued six days, in which the *Mihraghân*, or *Mithralia*, were celebrated. What these *Mithralia* were is very doubtful, and the Persian authors are much at variance respecting the origin of this festival; but Golius, out of Nuveirus, an Arabian writer, says, that the Persians used to anoint their kings with the oil of Bân. The king also put on a light and party-coloured robe, and wore the *cidaris* upon which was the image of the sun, begirt with the circle of the universe. The first, who approached him was the chief of the Magi, bearing a dish, on which was placed citrons, a piece of sugar, grains of the lotus, quinces, *sysipha*, apples, a cluster of white grapes, and seven myrtle berries, over which he muttered certain words. After him, in like manner, the people approached their monarch, according to their rank. Some authors say, that on the festivals of *Mihraghân* and Nauruz, all kinds of clothing

in which is the Balance, shadows out the nature of the sun:" and, "presently after we see the Balance arising, which is the pincers of Scorpio." The Romans probably imitated the Egyptians in reckoning twelve signs, though it would seem from the compliment, which Virgil pays to Augustus, that the claws of the scorpion were scarcely accounted a sign among them in the Augustan age, and that Libra, till then, had not been thought of as a separate sign:—

" Or new star in the slow months add thyself,
 " Where, twixt the Virgin and the Pincers, wide
 " A place expands; and burning Scorpio now
 " His arms draws in, and ample sky-room gives."

I refrain from entering upon any minute explanation of the circle of the zodiac, as it is connected with the Mithraic rites. Much curious information on this subject may be found in Porphyry. At present it may suffice generally to observe, that in this as well as in other tables of Mithraic symbols, all the devices, being in some manner connected either with the heavens or the seasons, clearly enough point out their origin in some system of astrological theology; that, in their first and simplest state, they consisted of a mixture of natural religion, and notes for the direction of the husbandman in his affairs; but that, in the lapse of ages, they became perplexed with nice and allegorical subtleties, referring to the generation, the moral renovation, and the future condition of man. As they lost the character of the calendar of the year, they assumed that of a series of mythological symbols.

and coverlets were brought out of the magazines and distributed to the people according to their rank. But little reliance is to be put upon these accounts. For this one thing is plain, that the Mithraic rites were instituted in honour of the sun, according to the custom of the ancient Persians, in March, at the approach of the sun; but, by the moderns, in September, when he was returning, celebrating, as it were, a feast of valediction to the sun, when he entered the tropic of Capricorn.—*Hyd. Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.* p. 244—247.

But the egg-like shape of the interior margin of the zodiac, is too particular to pass unnoticed. Is it intended here for that general symbol of the world, which has received the well-known and appropriate appellation of the *Mundane Egg*? It is clear from ancient authors, and from monuments, customs, and traditions, still existing in pagan countries, that there was a general opinion in former ages, that the world, under omnipotent influence, rose out of its chaotic form, in a manner something similar to the oviparous process, by which it has been ordained, that animal reproduction should be carried on,—a process not obscurely intimated in the Mosaic history of the creation, where it is said, that “the Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the deep.” On this subject I refer the curious for further information to Mr. Faber’s learned work on “*The Origin of Pagan Idolatry*,”* contenting myself with adding the opinion of a friend of Plutarch, who, on the question being proposed for discussion,—“Whether the hen or the egg were first?” told the company, “that on deliberating on that short problem, they, as it were with a machine, shook the great and ponderous matter respecting the generation of the universe.”†

The altar, No. 6. is three feet seven inches high. The injury it has sustained from the weather has been already noticed. Its sides are plain. In the inscription (besides the words DEO SOLI, on its capital, being nearly obliterated) there is an I wanting in INVICTO, as well as in MITHRÆ; though these apparent omissions may be owing to the weather having eaten out a small I in the first of these words, as in FIL in the fifth line of this inscription; and the top of a Y formed on the last stroke of the M in the latter, as in the third line of the altar, No .7.

* Vol. i. p. 175.

† Sympos. lib. ii. quest. 3. Where it is said, that “in the mysteries of Bacchus, an egg was consecrated and accounted holy, because it was a model (*μῦσμα*) of that principle, which produces and comprehends all things in itself.” Oromazes made twenty-four gods and enclosed them in an egg, which a like number of the gods of Arihmanius eventually succeeded in breaking. Since that time good and evil have been blended together.—*Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride*.

Imperfections and omissions being supplied, the inscription and its reading at length may stand thus :—

DEO SOLI
INVICTO MYT
RÆ SÆCVLARI
PVBL PROCVLI
NVS· O· PRO SE
ET PROCVLO FIL
SVO· V S L M
DD NN GALLO ET
VOLVSINO COS.

*Deo Soli
Invicto Myt-
ræ Sæculari
Publius Proculi-
nus, Centurio, pro se
et Proculo filio
suo, votum solvit libens merito ;
Dominis nostris Gallo et
Volusino consulibus.*

And in English thus :—

Publius Proculinus, a centurion, performing a vow, for himself and his son Proculus, cheerfully and duly dedicates this to the invincible God, the Sun, and to Mithras, Lord of ages ; their highnesses Gallus and Volusinus being consuls.

The attributes of the Sun, as a deity, were very variously designated by the ancients. He is described as “ *the eye of the world,*” as “ *over-seeing all things, and hearing all things.*”* Apuleius calls him, “ *that Sun the seeing God.*”† In conjunction with the Moon, he is frequently styled “ *ETERNAL.*” ‡. In the character of Mithras, “ *unconquerable*” is one of his commonest titles ; and under the same character he is called

* Homer’s *Odys.* λ. 108. μ. 323. Pliny, lib. ii. cap. vi. Plutarch says the sun is the most beautiful image of God.—*Morals*, p. 1399. *H. Stephen’s ed.* 8vo. 1572. *Jul. Firmic. de Error. prof. Relig.* p. 27. The Egyptians depict Osiris holding a sceptre, in the head of which is an eye, by which they mean, that this god is the Sun, and with regal authority surveys all things from on high ; for antiquity calls the Sun, *the eye of Jupiter.*—*Mac. Sat. lib. i. cap. xxi.* See also other quotations to the same effect in Pontanus’s notes to the above passage ; Pignorius, *de Testibus oculatis Osiridis* ; in his Explanation of the Isaic Tables, fol. 16 ; and Weston on a Mithraic sculpture, *Archæologia*, vol. xix. p. 100.

† *Metamorph.* lib. 1. p. 47.

‡ Gruter, p. xxxiii. Reines. 239, &c.

"Lord," "omnipotent," and "most holy;"* but the epithet "SECULARIS," on this and the following altar, is, as far as I have observed, no where else applied to him. In translating it *Lord of ages*, I suppose it to have nearly the same meaning here, that it has in *Carmen seculare* in Horace, and that αἰώνιος some times has in Greek; for we know, that their games, which recurred once in some stated number of years, were called αἰώνιος by the Greeks, and *Seculares* by the Latins, as may be seen in Herodotus and Suetonius.† They were games, which, in the phraseology of the times in which they commenced, were instituted *for ever*. Similar expressions are to be found in title deeds and foundation charters in our own country. If, indeed, I could bring sufficient reasons for deriving the Latin word SECULUM, *an age*, from the Greek κύκλος,‡ *a circle*, I should be furnished with a still stronger argument for this meaning of *secularis*; as *seculum* brought from that origin, would derive its meaning from the fact of the several periods of time being performed in cycles; and in this sense, Mithras, seated at the equinoxial line, and surrounded by the circle of the

* Gruter, p. xxxiii. § xxxv. Reinesius, 89—97. &c. Beyer ad Seld. Addit 52, 53.

† See also Vossius' Etymologicon, under *seculum*.

‡ The Latins wrote κύκλος, *cyclus*; and we have instances of the Greek κ being changed into the Roman s, as in *æstimare*, from αἰτιμάω; and the Roman c into the Roman s in *mulsum*, from *mulceo*, &c. &c. See Vos. *Etym.* p. 7, and the *Tables to Gruter and Reinesius*, on things relating to grammar. There can, I think, be no doubt, that περιλάω, *to surround*, and κύχλω, *to turn round*, are only various spellings of the same verb; and that περιχλῆς and κύχλος, *a shell*; κύχλαξ, *a pebble*; κυκλῖας, *a circle*; and several other Greek words, all owe their origin to one root, as they all stand for modifications of the idea of some thing circular or orbicular, or of girding or turning round. To which it may not be out of the way to add that the French *siècle*, and our word *secle*, which seems to be derived immediately from *seculum*, when they mean *a century*, have a strong affinity in signification to κύκλος, in Greek, and *cycle* in English; and that Virgil, in his *Pollio*, writes *sæclum* twice, and Ovid has,

"Dii te submoveant, ò nostri infamia sæcli,

"Orbe suo!"—*Met.*viii. 97.

Instances which shew, that *sæclum* for *seculum*, even taking the poetic licence of Synæresis into account, was not offensive to the Roman ear.

zodiac, might with great propriety be stiled *Secularis*, or *Lord of ages*; as well in respect to the life or generations of men, as to the periods in which the planets perform their various revolutions.

Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, and his son C. Vibius Volutianus, were Emperors of Rome for two years and eight months, and joint Consuls in A. D. 253,* in which year they were slain.

The altar, No. 7. is still in very beautiful preservation, and four feet seven inches high. Its capital is twenty inches broad, and is ornamented with a deep moulding of various members, and of which a hollow and a bead form the principal part. The mouldings of the base consist of two narrow fillets and a pigeon-breasted ogee. Its right side bears a *præfericulum*, and its left a *patera*, in bold relief. The mouldings, as well as the scrawls, formed by the ends of the horns on each side of the incense basin, are continued round its back. The back of the capital is also figured with seven semicircular lines, the diameters of which are formed by a groove immediately under the horns. The inscription upon it should be read thus:—

DEO
SOLI INVI
CTO MYTRÆ
SAECVLARI
LITORIVS
PACATIANVS
BF COS PRO
SE ET SVIS V S.
L M

*Deo
Soli Invi-
cto Mytræ
Saeculari
Litorius
Pacatianus,
Beneficiarius Consulis, pro
se et suis, votum solvit
libens merito.*

Which in English is:—

Litorius Pacatianus, a Consular Beneficiary, for himself and his family, cheerfully and duly dedicates this altar to the unconquerable God, the Sun, and to Mithras, the Lord of ages.

* Helvici Theat. Historicum, p. 94.

I would gladly have concluded my letter with these cursory remarks; but as you impose upon me the task of answering the very natural question; which the country people put to me, while we were digging in the ruins of the penetralia of the temple of Mithras, at Housesteads—“What were the ceremonies that were performed, and the doctrines that were taught in this place?”—I will endeavour to explain them in the best manner that my leisure, and my residence in a country village will permit.

There can be no doubt, that all the mysteries of paganism had one common origin: that the secrets, to which the aspirants were admitted in the orgies of Isis and Osiris, in Egypt; of Ceres, at Eleusis; of Adonis, in Phœnicia; of Bacchus, in Samothrace; of Hu, in Britain; and of Mithras, in Persia, all emanated from one common fountain. Though in their progress through different countries and ages, numerous causes, such as vice, a fondness for novelty, the schemes and animosities of politics, national aversions, were incessantly employed, not only in perverting and debasing them, but increasing their numbers, by setting them up in one place in opposition to their establishment in another; yet still, such was the power with which the pageant, which they exhibited, preserved its ascendancy over men's minds, and kept alive the fear of departing from their forms and injunctions, that they seemed only to differ from one another, as the produce of the seeds of the same plant differs, from being stunted or luxuriant in its growth, in different soils and altitudes, and under different modes of treatment. Under all their moral austerities and licentious impurities, they kept a common likeness to each other. Bishop Warburton, in the last age, did much to recover and to unfold correct notions of the scene, that was exhibited at their initiations: and Mr. Faber has still more clearly and more satisfactorily traced them to their origin and developed their meaning. Porphyry, we have seen, contended, that the description of the cave of the Nymphs related wholly to the doctrines that were delivered to the initiated; the tale of Aristæus, of his bees and his bulls,

in the *Georgics* of Virgil ; and that of the descent of *Æneas* into Hades, in the *Æneid*, are poetical representations of the prodigies that were performed in the temples of Egypt and Greece, and in the grottoes of Mithras. The poetry, theology, and philosophy of the ancients indeed abound with allusions to them ; and Apuleius, in the beautiful episode of Cupid and *Physche*, and of the progress of Lucius from the human into the bestial form, his restoration by Isis to his original likeness, and initiation into her mysteries, and into those of Osiris—unfolds, as far as it was lawful, all the captivating scenery, and the curious and high promising doctrines of the penetralia of the pagan temples.

For a long lapse of centuries the heathen nations had taught their dogmas, and practised their most favourite rites in the depth of midnight secrecy ; but the intrepid spirit of enquiry after truth, which attended the fathers of the Christian church, brought both their doctrines and their rites sufficiently into daylight for us to discern, that it was amongst the first articles of their creed to believe, “ that at the close of every mundaue revolution, the whole universe, together with both mortals and hero-gods, was absorbed in the essence of the one great hermaphrodite parent ; that, during the intermediate period of desolation, he remained in solitary majesty, contemplating, with intense abstraction, his own physical properties ; and that, when the appointed time of renovation arrived, he produced afresh, from his own essence, the frame of another world, with all its subordinate hero-gods and mortal inhabitants :” * that, in passing through the caves and chambers of the mysteries, while the moral renovation of the aspirant was the object principally intended, he was surrounded with the terrific imagery, which, at every step, called to mind the transition from this world, through the regions of the dead, into the cloudless light and happiness of the celestial paradise. In M. Belzoni’s drawings and description of the tomb of Psammis, and of the scenery exhibited on its walls, we have a striking and most interesting illustration of many parts of the mysteries of Isis,

* *Faber’s Origin, &c.* vol. iii. p. 139.

in passing through which, every thing that was terrible in nature, or dreaded in futurity, would appear to have been brought together to appal and over-awe the minds of the initiated.

The tale of the Golden Ass seems, indeed, to have been written expressly for the purpose of illustrating the doctrines, and supporting the falling interests, of paganism. The spread of Christianity had brought into the field of controversial theology a great host of talent. Hence, in the contention for truth, between the champions of the new religion and of paganism, while the Fathers laboured to expose the licentious impurities that were openly practised in the heathen temples, heathenism began to develope resources, which, in the days of her undisputed power, had been carefully kept from the vulgar eye. In her dying struggles she made confessions respecting her system, which consisted of truths half suppressed, and half unfolded. When she found her commands unavailing, she attempted to stand upon her merits; but the comparisons, which she drew between herself and her adversary, the discussions she entered into, and the illustrations she advanced, only served to expose her weakness. That invisible armour, in which she had gone about for so many hundred years, awing kingdoms and working magical delusions, began to fall off. The Mithraic rites, however, seem to claim some exception from this remark. They do not appear to have become extensively popular in the western parts of the Roman dominions, till the systems of paganism, which had formerly flourished in Italy, Gaul, and Britain, began to be withdrawn from, or neglected or abolished. I will endeavour to account for this preference that was given to them. It has been shown out of Porphyry, that Mithraism had its origin from Zoroaster, in Persia: and from Plutarch, that the orgies of Mithras began to be known to the Romans about the time when Pompey was sent against the pirates in Cilicia. From that time to A. D. 101, we hear no account of them. It is, however, I think, pretty evident, that they continued to be practised during all the intermediate time, though, perhaps, with

some restrictions. Pliny tells us, that "it was held amongst authors as an undoubted fact, that magic, which is the most fraudulent of all the arts, sprang from Zoroaster, in Persia; and no one will wonder, that its authority has been so very great, when it is considered, that it is the only science, which has reduced into one, and united with itself, the three others, which sway the most powerfully over the human mind. For who has doubted, that she was the eldest daughter of medicine, and that, under the pretence of healing, she insinuated herself into society, as one that was higher and holier than her mother? that to the most delightful and long-longed-for promises, she added the influences of religion, which, even to this day, have contributed greatly to keep mankind in darkness? and, as a further auxiliary, that she employed the mathematical sciences, every one being anxious to know the plans of futurity respecting himself, and believing them to be the most authentically derived from heaven? The minds of men being thus enthralled in this triple bond, magic grew into such authority, that even till now it prevails over a great part of the world, and in the east rules over kings of kings." "However, in the 657th year of Rome, when Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus were Consuls, a decree of the Senate was passed, forbidding the immolation of man; for till that time monstrous solemnities (*sacra prodigiosa*) were openly celebrated. It is certain, that magic continued to hold possession of Gaul even within our own memory. For it was not till the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, that the Druids and all the herd of prophets and physicians were put down in that country. But why should I relate these things respecting an art, which passed over the ocean and advanced into the deserts of nature? Britain, to this day, so devotedly honours it with such ceremonies, that she might seem to have given it to the Persians: so consentient in this matter is all the world, however different or unknown to each other. It cannot be sufficiently estimated how much society is indebted to the Romans for putting down these horrid rites, which made it not only a most indispensable act

of religion to take men's lives, but even essential to health to eat their flesh."*

Now I take these "*sacra prodigiosa*" of the Magi to have been the very same as the mysteries of Mithras, which we find expressly accused of the horrible practice of offering human sacrifices. Porphyry says, that "according to Pallas, who was the best author on these mysteries, offerings of men as sacrifices were almost wholly abolished under the Emperor Hadrian."† Lampridius, however, accuses Commodus "with violating the *sacra Mithraica* with homicide, since, in them, it was a rule, either to say, or to exhibit, something, which had the resemblance of fear;" and Photius, in his life of Athanasius, asserts, "that there was a Greek temple in Alexandria, in which, in ancient times, the Greeks performed sacred rites to Mithras, sacrificing men, women, and children, and auguring from their entrails."‡

The success of Mithraism in Gaul and Britain, must not, therefore, be attributed to novelty; but to the obstinacy of ancient habits. In the cell at Housesteads many of the same rites were performed, as in the groves of the Druids. The Gauls and the Britains finding the open profession of their ancient creed denounced by the Roman law, and that law enforced by the sword of the Roman armies, willingly deserted the temples of Hu for a cognate worship in the cells of Mithras. Or, if it should be said, that we have no authority for asserting, that the native population of Britain, ever joined in these rites, but that they were confined to the stations and soldiers of the Romans, it is still, I think, manifest, that they owed their extensive influence over the human mind to their connection with magic—to the open profession and practice of the demoniacal arts of sorcery and witchcraft, at a time when Apuleius and other pagan authors, were endeavouring to disclaim all knowledge of them, and to defend the mysteries of Isis and other deities against the charge of using them.

* Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. i.

† De Abst. lib. ii. cap. 56. p. 202. ed. Iac. de Rhoer, 1767.

‡ P. 1446.

The little glimmerings of light, which continue to shine on the religion of Mithras, have fallen on no part more distinctly than upon the severities, which it enjoined upon the candidates for admission to its mysteries. But even this distinctness is comparative. It is brighter than those "glimpses of the moon," which "made night hideous" in his caverns; but it is only a twilight. It is, however, strong enough to enable us to perceive, that among the many apparent contradictions and real difficulties, which accompany them, the primary object of these severities was to prepare the mind and bodies of the aspirants, by a long course of rigorous discipline, to undergo every species of self denial, and by an exhibition of that part of the pagan creed, which relates to the passage of the soul from life to immortality, to impress upon them the necessity of that great moral regeneration, which was to fit the soul for entering upon a new, happy, and eternal existence. The following extracts comprise nearly the whole of the direct information, which I have been able to collect on this part of my subject.

Origen, endeavouring to refute some positions of Celsus respecting the seven heavens, or the seven planets of the Greeks, by which, according to Plato, the souls of men went up into heaven, quotes this passage from the work which that author wrote against Christianity:— "The doctrines of the Persians and the mysteries of Mithras enigmatically explain this; for there is in them a symbol of the two celestial periods, that of the fixed stars and that of the planets, and also of the passage of the soul through them. This is a ladder from one gate to another as far as the eighth. The first of the gates is lead, the second of tin, the third of bronze, the fourth of iron, the fifth of the mixture for money (*ἀργαῖον νομισματός*), the sixth of silver, the seventh of gold. The first they attribute to Saturn, as lead represents the slowness of that star; the second to Venus, comparing her to the softness and splendour of tin; the third, from the firmness and solidity of bronze, to Jupiter; the fourth to Mercury, because iron and Mercury stand all sorts of work, and are useful in business, and especially in mecha-

nics; the fifth to Mars, on account of its anomalous and various mixture; the sixth of silver, to the Moon, and the seventh of gold, to the Sun, because of their similarity in colour to these metals."* Now all this is clearly enough of a piece with the dubious and enigmatic cant of magic and astrology; and might fall under the merited censure, which the same Celsus, in another part of his work against the Christians, passes upon Mithraism; for, says he, "they, who are irrationally credulous, are no better than those, who delight in charlatans, jugglers, Mithraic and Bacchic mysteries, or in certain phantasms of Hecate and other demons."†

Gregory Nazianzen, who was born A. D. 324, and died in 390, in his first oration against Julian, says:—"You not only have no reverence for, but despise, the heroism and the bravery of the Christian martyrs, while you admire those of the *Phrygians*, who are soothed with the sweetness of the lute, and after the air is over, suffer reproach, and maiming, and the merited and mysterious burnings, practised in the Mithraic rites;"‡ and "they, who deservedly undergo the torments of the Mithraic rites, inflicted all sorts of cruelties and indignities on Marcus Arethusius."§

In the 39th oration, which is a panygeric "on the holy light," after speaking of the excellency of the rites of the Christian religion, he charges the Gentiles with hiding and folding up in fable the doctrines which they believe to be true: but, says he, "ours are not the orgies of the Thracians, nor the merited severities of Mithras on those, who can bear to be initiated into his mysteries, nor the manglings of Osiris, nor the misfortunes of Isis."||

On these passages, Elias of Crete, has the following commentary:—"Some say, that Mithras is the sun, in honour of whom festivals were

* Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 280. Ed. Spenceri Cantab. 1677.

† Id. lib. i. p. 8.

‡ Oratio iii. adv. Jul. vol. i. p. 29. latin. Antwerp. 1612.

§ Id. p. 33.

|| Id. p. 236.

celebrated, and especially amongst the Chaldeans. And it is certain that they, who had to be initiated into his mysteries, underwent twelve torments, namely, fire and frost, hunger and thirst, the scourge, the hardships of travelling, and other such severities." "Our author calls torments of this kind *just*, because they are worthy of them, who undergo them; and *mysterious*, because they esteem them as such."* And Nonnus, on these passages observes:—"This Mithras is thought to be the sun amongst the Persians: and they sacrifice victims to him, and perform certain rites to his honour. No one can be admitted into his mysteries, unless he has previously undergone all the punishments, the number of which they say is eighty, some of them of the gentler sort, others more severe. The milder are undergone first, then the severer: and after the whole course are gone through, they are initiated. Fire and water are the sort of punishments which they endure†. These torments are said to be inflicted to produce examples of piety and greatness of mind under sufferings. After they have been many days in water, they cast themselves into fire; then live in desert places, and there subdue the cravings of hunger; and thus, as we have said, the aspirant goes through the whole course of eighty torments: which, if he survive, then he is initiated into the mysteries of Mithras."‡ On the words, "*if he survive*," *ἐὰν ζήσῃ*, Salamasius observes, that the instances of aspirants passing all these ordeals and trials without danger of their lives, were few.

The following quotation is from St. Jerome's letter to Leta on the education of a daughter:—"Conversion is never too late. The thief passed from the cross into paradise. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, after his brutalized state of body and mind were subdued in the desert, received a human disposition. And, that I may omit examples belonging to ancient times, lest to the incredulous they may appear too like fiction.—Did not your relation, Gracchus, a name of patrician dignity,

* *Æliæ Cret. Comment. in S. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 156. 168.*

† *Id. p. 240.*

‡ *Id. 245.*

within these few years, when he bore the office of præfect, overturn, and break, and stamp to powder, the cave of Mithras and all the portentous images [*simulachra*] to which Corax, Niphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Helios, Bromius, Pater, are initiated, and, sending these before him, as it were for hostages, beg the baptism of Christ.”*

These images I suppose to have been the tutelary divinities of the several degrees or classes of the disciples of Mithras. I will endeavour, as briefly as I can, to mention the substance of the notes I have collected respecting them; premising, however, that, according to Pallas, the common opinion was, that they referred to the circle of the zodiac; but the true one, that certain secrets connected with the human soul, and its tenanting different kinds of bodies, was intended. And Porphyry adds, that the Latins called some wild boars, and scorpions, and bears, and thrushes. While Diana was a wolf; the Sun a lizard, a lion, dragon, or hawk; Hecate a horse, bull, lioness, or dog; and Proserpine a dove.† As these several fraternities of the followers of Mithras had each their peculiar rites, I think it very probable, that the hierophant, or father of each, was called by the name which designated his class; that is, that the priest who superintended the *Coracica*, was called *Corax*, and so of the rest. Indeed, nothing was more common in the various branches of heathen worship, than for the priests and priestesses to take the names, and arrogate to themselves the characters and attributes, either of the divinities at whose altars they officiated, or else of some cognate god or goddess. Thus Apuleius calls the chief priest of the Isiac mysteries, *Mithras*,‡ in allusion, no doubt, to the Sun, which was the same as the Osiris and Serapis of the Egyptians.

Concerning CORAX, we have seen from Porphyry, that one of the classes of those, who were admitted to the orgies of Mithras, were a

* Opera S. Hieron. p. 50. col. 2. E. ed. Lut. Par. 1624.

† Porph. de Abstin. lib. iv. cap. 16.

‡ Metamorph. vol. ii. lib. xi. p. 735, “ ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem præcipuum,” and p. 755, “ complexus Mithram sacerdotem, et meum jam parentem,” &c.

sort of servitors, and were called *Córacai*, or *Crows*. Is there in this some allusion to the "loquacious crow," which forms part of the constellation, Hydra? * for astrology was no inconsiderable part of the religion of Zoroaster. This bird was sacred to the sun. † An old commentator (supposed to be St. Ambrose) on the Epistle to the Romans, mentions the *Coracica sacra* of the pagans; and there are inscriptions on which certain Mithraic solemnities, called *Hierocoracica* ‡ occur, and *Pater et Hierocorax Dei Solis invicti Mithræ*, i. e. the father and sacred-crow of the God the Sun, the unconquerable Mithras. §

NIPHUS, to me is full of difficulty. Reinesius and others copy from editions of Jerome, which have *Griphus*, and he thinks the word comes from *κρυφίος*, *hidden*, because the rites of Mithras were performed in darkness and secrecy. Another interpretation of Griphus is taken from a passage in Apuleius, where he says, that one part of the ceremony of admission into the rites of Isis, consists in putting on a long flowing garment, on which animals were represented in various colours, such as the dragons of India, and the hyperborean griffins: this garment they called the *Olympic Stole*. || Instead of Olympic in this place, Reinesius proposes to read *Leontic*. In the Paris edition of Jerome, in 1624, Niphus is explained by *Nisus*—*accipitris*, a hawk. And Porphyry, we have seen, says, that those, who were admitted into the class called Patres, were termed eagles and hawks. He also says, that this bird was sacred to the sun, and held in great veneration by the Egyptians. ¶ It also occurs very frequently among the hieroglyphics on the walls of their temples and on their mummies. Their Arueris is drawn with a hawk's head. Were not masks used in these mysteries, and the doctrines of the regeneration of the human mind, and of metamorphosis

* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. ii. 535. † Fulgentius lib. i. fol. 131, a. Arati *Phæn.* fol. 196, b.

‡ Gruter, 2. ccciii.

§ Reins. *Syntag.* 48, I.

|| Met. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 748.

¶ De Abstin, lib. iv. cap. 9. See also Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 38. Latin, Basil. 1578. Virg. *Georg.* I. 404.

intended to be symbolized by the aspirant passing through the cave under a bestial form, in skins of wild beasts, to the southern gate, where he again assumed the human likeness; and by which the pantomime of metempsychosis was represented?

MILES, or *the Soldier*, as connected with Mithras, occurs twice in Tertullian. At the conclusion of his book, entitled *the Soldier's Crown*, he bids the soldier of Christ blush at being outrivalled by, and therefore having to be judged by, some soldier of Mithras; and in the same place, as well as in his Pleadings against the Heretics, he enters into a description of the ceremonies used at the initiations into the rites of *Miles*.*

LEO, *the Lion*, was the divinity that presided over the rites called *Leontica*. As it was one of the doctrines inculcated by the Persian Magi, that there were certain things common both to animals and to men, they used to designate men by the names of animals. Thus, those, who were partakers of the mysteries of Mithras, they called *lions*; and he, who took upon himself the *Leontics*, invested himself in the forms of all sorts of animals. It was also peculiar to this fraternity, to have honey poured upon their hands instead of water, at their initiation; by which it was implied, that they ought to preserve their hands undefiled by any thing that was offensive, or hurtful, or abominable. Hence the purifying qualities of fire were resorted to at the initiation of a mystic, for they were averse to water on account of its

* "Erubescite Romani commilitones ejus, jam non ab ipso judicandi, sed ab aliquo *Mithræ milite*, qui quum initiatur in spelæo, in castris verè tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam, quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accommodatam, monetur obvia manu capite depellere, et in humerum si forte transferre, dicens, Mithram esse coronam suam. Atque exinde nunquam coronatur: id quod in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi tentatus fuerit de Sacramento: *statimque creditur Mithræ miles*, si dejecerit coronam, si eam in deo suo esse dixerit. Vol. I. p. 294. Ed. Pari. 1616.—Tinguit et ipse [diabolus] quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos; expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit et sic *adhuc* initiat Mithræ: signat illic in frontibus *milites* suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit; et sub gladio redimit coronam.—Id. p. 339.

enmity to fire. They also used honey to purify the tongue from all evil.* Tertullian says, that the pagans, who attempted to reduce the reveries of their religion into any thing like reason, thought that the lions of Mithras referred to the mystery of dry and burning nature.† The symbol, which in Montfaucon is called *the Mithraic Lion*, is sometimes a lion with a bee in its mouth, and surrounded with stars, a lunette, or magic characters; or it is a man, or a serpent, with a lion's head, with similar accompaniments, and generally with Abraxas as a legend, with Mithras rarely.‡

When honey was offered to PERSES, in the character of a guardian of fruit, it was made the symbol of preservation.§ The rites called *Persica*, were known at Alexandria, as appears from a quotation out of Damascius by Suidas.¶ Perseus is the name of one of the ancient constellations, and a very ancient god of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians.¶ He was habited like Mercury, and was considered to be the same as Mithras, or the sun, in Persia; and as Osiris in Egypt.**

HELIOS, is the Greek name of the sun; but I have met with no mention of *Heliaca*, or of any rites under this name, in connection with Mithraism.

BROMIUS is one of the names of Bacchus.

“Hail Bacchus, Bromius, and Lycæus, hail!

“Twin bred, twice born, alone of mothers two.”††

I have found no mention of any *Bromica*, or Mithraic orgies under

* Porp. de Abstin. iv. 16. De Ant. p. 260. Reines. Syntag. p. 95.

† Aridæ et ardentis naturæ sacramenta, Leones Mithræ philosophantur.—*Advert. Marcionem*, lib. i. p. 624.

‡ Antiq. Expl. vol. i. p. 227, plates, 48, 49.

§ Porph. De Ant. Nym. p. 260.

¶ Sub voce, *εμφάδς*.

¶ Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 91. lib. vi. cap. 54.

** Albricius Philos. de Deor. Imag. c. 6. Tzet. in Lyc. ver. 17. Notes to Jerome, p. 56, col. 2. ed. Par. 1624. Faber's Origin, &c. ii. 437, &c.

†† Ovid's Metamorph. lib. iv. l. 11.

this name. But as *Liber Pater* was a common epithet of Bacchus, we perhaps ought in this place to read *Bromius Pater*, and in that case the list of the "*portentuosæ simulachra*" of Jerome would end here.

Porphyry, however, expressly affirms, that those who were admitted into the *Patrica*, were called eagles or hawks. And we have "PATER PATRUM SOLIS MERITI MITHRÆ" and other inscriptions in Gruter and Reinesius,* which not only show that there was a sort of Mithraic lodge or guild, which called themselves FATHERS, but that the priest who presided over it was called *Pater*, or *Father*. We find one Marcus Aurelius dedicating an altar to Mithras, when Victorinus, *the Father*, and Calpurnius Januarius were presidents of their fraternity, in A. D. 184; and in 197, the same Aurelius and his children making another dedication, "NUMINI INVICTO SOLI MITHRÆ," when the same Calpurnius Januarius was *Priest*.†

Now I think it probable, that the eight gates of Celsus and the eight "*portentuosæ simulachra*" of Jerome, were symbols and shadows of the eight gradations through which the devotees of Mithraism had to pass, till they became eye-witnesses of all, that their religion had to unfold to them, in the scenic revelations that were exhibited in its holy grottoes. The stages from the first to the seventh were all rugged and wild; the threshold of the eighth was the entrance into Paradise. Hence, in Celsus, we have only seven metals. The *Patrica* of Jerome, over which the mitred abbot, the Father of Fathers, presided, were, I apprehend, the *Teleutè* of Mithraism—the last act exhibited in the pantomime of the mysteries—the final vision and revelation presented to the extatic eyes and ravished minds of the *Epoptès*; while the *Coracica*, the orgies of the servants, were the first. The seven simulachra of the grottoes, were symbols of the seven gradations, through which the aspirants had to grope their darkling way in the mysteries, till, in stepping into the light of the sun and the glories of surrounding

* Gruter, 2. xxvii, mci. &c. Reines. Syntag. p. 89.

† Reines. Syntag. 55. L.

nature, they were figuratively initiated into the enjoyment of beatific rest in the mansions of Oromazes. The metallic gates of Celsus, and the ladders which connected them, represented the arduous ascent into these mansions; and, as symbols, might have had their origin in the connection which Mithraism had with magic, metallurgy, and medicine. The seven planets clearly enough were the introduction of astrology, and while they were supposed to refer to the seven probationary states of the aspirants, they were believed to preside over the birth and future fortunes of all mankind: and I submit to the opinion of the learned, whether "the seven times," in which Nebuchadnezzar was driven from men, and had his dwelling with the beasts of the field, were not the seven periods of that figurative metamorphosis, which the religion of his country enjoined upon every one, who was admitted into its mysteries, and in which Daniel, at that time, was "master of the magicians." But I dare not venture to suppose that the "den" or vault "of the lions" into which Daniel was cast, was the artificial grotto of the fraternity of Mithraic lions; though some critics have thought they have seen a resemblance between the "*stone heven without hands out of a mountain*,"* and the cave of Mithras; and that a passage in Isaiah referred both to it, and to the terrific rites that were practised in it.†

This is the substance of the greater part of the information I have been able to collect, and of the reflections that have occurred to me,

* Cap. ii. v. 34 and 45. Justin Martyr. dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 296, 297. Jul. Firmicus de Er. Prof. Relig. p. 42.

† Cap. xxxiii. v. 13—19. See notes to Tertullian de Cor. Mil. Paris ed. 1616. p. 307. As the heathen mysteries were of exceeding high antiquity, and very widely diffused, we cannot wonder that allusions to them are very frequent in the scriptures. Mr. Faber very ingeniously supposes that the plague of darkness, (Exod. x. 21—23.) was intended to punish the Egyptians in express allusion to their gloomy, nocturnal celebration of the Isiac Orgies: so that they, who were accustomed to sit in mimic artificial darkness, during three days, in honour of their defunct god, were suddenly plunged by the true God into a horrible preternatural darkness of the very same continuance." And he also thinks that "the

respecting the nature of the worship performed in the Mithraic grotto lately discovered at Housesteads. I have omitted several interesting particulars connected with the subject.* But from an unwillingness to extend my letter to a greater length, shall now close this inquiry with the following general, though mutilated account of the religion of Mithras, by Julius Firmicus,† and with some short notices on its connection with Abraxism.

“The Persians and all the Magi of their country had fire, and indeed all the elements in great esteem. Jupiter, by them was considered in

author of the apocryphal wisdom of Solomon (chap. xvii.) has preserved a most curious Jewish tradition, relating to the specific nature of this plague, which intimates, that the Egyptian votaries of Osiris were not only wrapped in palpable darkness, but that they heard the identical noises, and beheld through the horrid gloom, the identical spectres, which so eminently distinguished the first, or mournful part of the mysteries.”—*Orig. of Pag. Idol. vol. ii. p. 157.*

* Much interesting information respecting Mithras is contained in Mr. Faber’s learned work “on the Origin of Pagan Idolatry:” besides which, I have met with the following references to treatises and criticisms upon it, but have had no opportunity of consulting them:—

Gyraldus Synt. viii. Hist. Deor.

Salmasius ad Hist. Aug. fol. 117, 349, 367, 382, 383.

Joh. Quintinus, Heduus, c. 40. schol. in Tertul. l. de Præscrip. adv. Hæret.

Julius Cæs. Capacius, l. 1. Hist. Neap. c. 14. which is upon the ancient religion of the Neapolitans.

Guther. l. 1. de vet. Jure Pontif. c. 25.

Jul. Cæs. Bulenger. lib. i. de Magiâ lic. et vet. c. 4, 5, 6.

Grotius, Annotat. ad Levit. xxvi. 30.

The above list is chiefly from Reinesius: the following references are from Cudworth’s Intellectual System, book I. cap. 4:—

Anton: Van Dale Dissert. ix. ad Antiquit. et Marmora, p. 16.

Scaliger de Emendat. Temporum, lib. vi. cap. de Hebdom. Dan. p. 588.

Maximus Tyrius Dissertat xxxviii. p. 371.

Plato in Alcibiade, tom. I. Oper. p. 92.

Dionys. Areop. Epistol vii. ad Polycarpum p. 91. tom ii. Oper.

† De Errore Profan. Relig. p. 10—12.

the twofold light of a male and a female;* and the substance of fire as having the attributes of man and woman; the latter of whom they represented with a triple countenance, and entwined with monstrous serpents. The male part they worship under the character of *a stealer of cattle*, and refer his rites to the energies of fire; as one of his own poets tells us:—

“ Priests of the lowing ox, O celebrate
 “ The holy father’s feast, Bouclopia.†

“ They call him Mithras, and perform his mysteries in secret caverns, that out of the thick gloom in which they are involved, they may not perceive the blessing of clear and serene day-light. O blind consecration of a deity. O hateful contrivance of a wicked law. You believe him to be a God, and you acknowledge him to be wicked. You, therefore, who say that sacrifice is not duly performed after the Persian mode of the Magi, why do you praise the Persian mysteries? But let the injunctions of the Persians be advanced. * * * * *

* In addition to the account of the hermaphroditic character of the Indian God, in the quotation at page 282, from Bordesanes, Porphyry has preserved the following curious description by the same author, of the ceremonies performed in the cave in which his statue was placed:—“ Behind this statue, the interior of the cave is dark to a considerable distance. Such as have a mind to enter it proceed with lamps, till they find a certain door, through which water flows, and forms a lake at the end of the cave. This door is to be passed by such as submit themselves to be tested. Those who are free from the defilements of life pass unhindered, the doors opening widely, and they find a very large fountain of the most limpid and delicious water, which forms the stream I have mentioned before.— But those who have been guilty of any crime, strive in vain to obtain admission, the doors closing themselves against them.”—*De Styge*, p. 284.

† That is, *the Ox-stealing Festival*. Porphyry says, that one of the names of the moon is Taurus: and taurus is the exaltation (ἰψυμα) of the moon, and bees sprang from an ox. Hence souls coming into existence at generation are called ox-born, and the god who hears generation privately, *Ox-thief*.”—*De Antro*, p. 262. See also *Mac. Sat. lib. i. cap. xix. Ovid. Met. lib. ii. l. 680, &c. &c.*

that he is consecrated, armed with a shield, cuirass, sword, and spear.

* * * The third part has its dominion allotted in rugged and lonely places, among woods and dens of wild beasts. The last of this tripartite division has reference to the habits of libidinous desires; which point out depraved lusts, and the allurements of absurd appetites. Therefore they assign one part to the head, as it seems in some manner to denote the anger of man. Another they place in the heart, as it may seem to occupy the variety of the various thoughts, which, like woods, we entertain with manifold intensity. The third part is placed in the liver, where lust is bred and voluptuousness; for there the collected fecundity of the seeds of generation excite the appetite of lust with natural incentives," &c. &c.

Basilides, of Alexandria, flourished in the second century. He was a great corrupter of Christianity, against which he published twenty-four books. His own divinity was "a rhapsody of monstrous notions and magical schemes."* His doctrines are mentioned by Irenæus and Tertullian; but, in reference to our present subject, most pertinently by St. Jerome, in the following passage in his Commentary on the Prophet Amos:—"Basilides gives the Almighty the monstrous name of Abraxas, and pretends that, according to the import of the Greek letters, and the number of the days of the sun's course, Abraxas is found in the circle of the sun, in like manner as he is by the gentiles called Mithras, from the same number contained in other letters." This passage is explained by others in Irenæus and St. Austin, who assert, that the Basilidians held, that there were 365 heavens, the number of days contained in a year; and, therefore, they looked upon the name Abraxas, by which they meant the sun, as holy and venerable. The following table will serve to illustrate this subject:—

* Agrippa Castor, quoted by Parker, p. 79.

ABRAXAS.				MEITHRAS.			
A	-	-	1	M	-	-	40
B	-	-	2	E	-	-	5
P	-	-	100	I	-	-	10
A	-	-	1	Θ	-	-	9
Z	-	-	60	P	-	-	100
A	-	-	1	Λ	-	-	1
Σ	-	-	200	Σ	-	-	200
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Abraxas 365				Meithras 365			

Mithras makes only 360, and *Mithras*, as Macarius wrote it, only 364; but *Mithras*, which, as Mountfaucon observes, is a common reading, contains the true number. One of the gems given in Mountfaucon,† has Mithras inscribed on one side, and Abraxas on the other, and several of them have the Mithraic lion, accompanied with the bee, stars, a lunette, or other devices, all of which evidently prove, that, in the monstrous mixtures of religion, which prevailed in the second century, Mithraism, as well as the rest, was infected with the heresy of Basilides.

In submitting this rude and immethodical dissertation to your perusal, and to be read before the Society, I am sensible that its imperfections require many apologies. For though much greater portion of time has been spent over it, than the subject of it deserves, and I have done my best to it that my leisure and opportunities would afford, yet I am sensible that it still stands much in need of lenity and indulgence from yourself and my fellow Antiquaries.

Believe me to be always, and

with the most sincere friendship and regard, your's

JOHN HODGSON.

* Vol. ii. p. 228. pl. 48. no. 15. also plate 49, fig 2, &c.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—*An Account of a Roman Altar, presented by Mr. G. A. DICKSON, of Newcastle, to the Society.*

THIS altar, of the mural kind, was discovered at Brougham Castle, in Westmoreland, and for many years was placed in the wall of a stable there. Brougham Castle is the Brovacum of the Antonine Iter, according to Horsley, Gough, and others; but according to the conjectures of Reynolds, the Voreda of that authority. It stands near the confluence of the rivers Eden and Lowther, in the county of Westmoreland, and the site of the Roman station near it has produced numerous inscribed altars and tablets, coins, urns, &c. This altar is made of red sandstone, is 15 inches high, and 12 inches broad, and bears the following inscription:—

DEO
BLATVCA^{OR}
AVDAGVS
V. S. P. SS.

Deo Belatucadro Audacus votum solvens posuit sanctissime.

No. II.—*An Account of two Roman Altars, by Mr. G. A. DICKSON.*

IN making a drain at Burgh upon Sands, in Cumberland, in 1803, an altar 6 inches high and 4 inches in breadth was found: it bears the following inscription, and was, in 1804, in the possession of Mr. Hodgson of that place:

DEO BEHTI.
CADRO ANTR
> VIPOSVNAR
NAPROSEET'S
—VIS

On the 9th of Feb. 1804, while some labourers were digging a drain across the foundation of the Roman wall, in the line of the foot path between Stanwix and Tarraby, and in a field belonging to Mrs. Graham, of the former place, they found an altar, bearing the following inscription. The ends of the altar rested on two stones, and the inscription was downwards, and a cavity below it. It is about 18 inches high, and a foot broad.

†
MAR.ICOCM'
LEG' II AVG'
> .SANC†ANA.
> SECVNDIN.
'D. SOL. SVBCCV
RA. ÆLIANI.
CVRA' OPRV.
FELIX. OP†O.

No. III.—*An Account of an ancient Sword, in a Letter to Mr. ADAMSON, Secretary, by Mr. CULLEY.*

THE accompanying sword, which I beg to present to the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, is a real Ferrara. I have been able to trace its history as follows:—

It has been an heir-loom in a family of the name of Gage (sometimes spelt Gagie) for centuries. They trace their lineage as far back as William the Conqueror. In latter periods it has performed doughty service in the hands of the hereditary bowmen of Wark Castle, descending from father to son, in defence of that border fortress. Its companion, the bow, was in being within these last twenty years, and is described as being formed of various coloured woods, inlaid together, and of great length and strength. From the joining of different sorts of wood very valuable properties are derived, which are well known to mechanics, and more especially to ship-builders: this weapon, so dreadful in the hands of its ancient possessors, being no longer in request, was consigned to the children as a play thing.

MATTHEW CULLEY.

Akeld, Nov. 26, 1814.

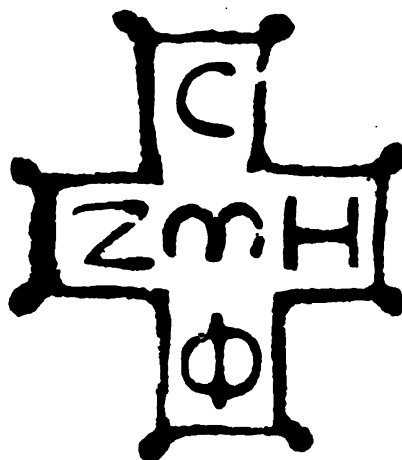
No. IV.—*June 7, 1815, Mr. G. A. DICKSON communicated to the Society the following Inscriptions, which were found at Old Carlisle, in Cumberland, in the beginning of April, in the same year.*

1. TANCORIX
MVLIER

VIGSIT ANNOS
SEGSAGINTA

2. CONIVX EIVS
CVRAVIT.

No. V.—*Mr. DICKSON at the same time presented to the Society, a Bronze Stamp, or Seal, in the form of a Cross.*



MR. Dickson was informed that this seal was purchased by the captain of a ship, at the isle of Pharos, and is of opinion the letters should be read in this order *crōnn*, and consequently, that it belonged to the town of Siphnus, which was the capital of a little island of the same name, situated in the Egean sea, and one of the Cyclades.

No. VI.—*Some Notice respecting an Inscription on the Bell of Heworth Chapel, by the Rev. JOHN HODGSON, Secretary.*

THE late parish clerk of Heworth had heard from his predecessor, that the Bell of the Chapel there, was brought from Gateshead; and on enquiry into the fact, I have been furnished with the following extract from the books of the Churchwardens of that parish.

22 April, 1701.—“Ord^d. That y^e littell bell now in the Belfrey in the parish church of Gateshead be p^rsented to

Robert Ellison, Esq. for y^e use of Heworth chappell, in lieu of y^e arrearages due to y^e said Rob. Ellison, for the Blew quarry spring."

This bell was taken down from its turret in the summer of the year 1815, in consequence of its iron clapper dropping out through decay, when it appeared that the original ears of bronze, by which it had been attached to its axle, had been broken off, and supplied by iron ones, which were nearly eaten through with rust. Its inside too was much worn by the action of the clapper; and numerous small holes were drilled into its outer surface, apparently by the action of the weather. These circumstances prove that its age is considerable. But that, which principally makes it an object of antiquarian curiosity, is a singular inscription round its outside, consisting of three crosses and certain letters and characters in bass relief, concerning the import of which I have not been able to form the smallest conjecture. Neither am I certain that in the drawing I have sent, I have hit upon the true order in which they should be read. *See Plate V.*

No. VII.—*A List of a Collection of Roman Antiquities, found principally at, or near, the station at House Steads, the ancient Borcovicus, and which have lately (1822) come into the possession of the Society.*

An altar, 3 feet 10 inches high by 1 foot 9 inches wide, the inscription from which is erased, but from the evident traces of an O on the capital, it is probable, that it is the altar mentioned by Horsley, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XLIII.

A mutilated figure of a Roman soldier, supposed to be NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XLVII.

An altar, 3 feet 8 inches high and 1 foot 9 inches wide, uninscribed, but ornamented with scroll work quite round the capital.

A large altar, evidently NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XXXVIII.

An altar, uninscribed, 3 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 7½ inches broad.

Sculpture of a Roman soldier, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XLVI.

A headless figure, in a loose dress and robe, in a good style of sculpture.

Another figure, nearly similar, but rather less, and having the hands clasped; both apparently monumental effigies.

Five headless female figures, seated like those represented in NORTHUMBERLAND, Nos. XLVIII. and XLIX.

A sculpture representing three female figures standing, supposed to be NORTHUMBERLAND, No. L., but wanting the fish and sea goat.

A sculpture representing the lower limbs of a naked human figure.

A monumental tablet, 5 feet high, with the figure of a hare sculptured in the upper part of the stone, and containing the following inscription:—D. M. ANICIO INGENVO MEDICO ORD. COH. I. TVNGR. VIX. AN. XXV.

The figure of Victory, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. LXV.

Another Victory, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. CIII.

A large tablet, 3 feet 6 inches high by 2 feet 6 inches wide, inscribed DIIS DEABVSQVE SECVNDVM INTERPRETATIONEM ORACVLI CLARI APOLINIS COH. I. TVNGRORM.

A curious fragment, containing on one side the following commencement of an inscription:—IMPERATORIB.

CAESARIBVS RELIO AN And on the other side, the concluding part of an inscription, apparently IO PAVLIN ... GIN. PRAETEN.

Two fragments of a tablet, on one of which the letter O is very visible, but no other part of the inscription, which has no doubt once been on them. On the outer edges there appear a standard and an arm supporting it.

One large head, gigantic and savage, and two others with curled hair.

An altar, 50 inches high and 20½ wide, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XL.

Another large altar, inscription very legible, NORTHUMBERLAND, No. XXXVI.

The upper part of a small monumental sculptured tablet.

The upper part of a larger and ruder monumental tablet.

Sculpture of a Roman soldier, supposed NORTHUMBERLAND, No. LI.

The lower part of a monumental inscription, containing VS HERES VIX. ANOS XXX.

A fragment of a large monumental stone, with the inscription much defaced; but there appear the letters A ... IVL A CONIV MAVR ... IC VICKIT XXXXVII.

There are also various small fragments of sculptured stones; a large perforated stone, probably the cover of the mouth of a drain; two rough stone pillars, or props, &c. &c.

INDEX TO VOLUME THE FIRST.

A.

- AALLEN**, 228.
Abbotsbury in Dorset, 139.
Abdach, inscription at, 227.
Abensburg, 223.
Abensberg, 226.
Aberford, 122.
Abraxas gems, 286; name of, 319.
Abseley, Sir Allen, 177.
Abusina, 222.
Acklington Park, 167.
Ad Fines (Chew-green), 241, 254.
Ad Lunam, 222; the station, 228.
Ad Murum, 240.
Ad Vallum, 240, 241.
Adamson, John, 11, 122, 133, 134, 173, 201, 203, 216, 268; appx. 5; letter from, 133, 134.
Ælius Rufus, 231.
Æsica, ancient name of Great Chesters, 129.
Agmondisham, 174.
Agricola, 207, 238, 234, 244; Calphurnius, 209.
Airdley, 260.
Aire, towne of, 214.
Akeld, appx. 5.
Alamani, 230.
Alauna Amnis, 239, 240, 257.
Alba, 228; Alba not the Elbe, 230.
Albany, Duke of, 215.
Alba, 224.
Albion Place, 135.
Albrough, 181.
Aldsworth, Rich., esq., 174.
Aldwade, Thomas de, 116.
Alemanni, 220, 221.
Alfred, King, 124, 139.
Allan, East, 170.
Allanton, 170.
Allegiance, refusing to take oath of, 150.
Allen, Sir Thom., 177.
Allen, river, 261.
Allendale, 262.
Allenheads lead mines, instruments found at, 182; tool found in west end of, 184.
Allenson, John, 162.
Allington, Lord, 174.
Almond, river, 257.
Aln, river, 240, 257, 261.
Alnham, 240, 262; church at, 240.
Alnwick, 157, 171, 239;—Castle, 150; stealing lead from, 158;—Abbey, 165; neighbourhood of, 262.
Alstone Moor, 270.
Altar, found at Tynemouth, 231; two Roman, at Eildon, 251; inscribed, at Housteada, 269; dedicated to Jupiter, 272; uninscribed, 273; found at Chapel-hill, 271, 273, 274; description of No. 6, 299; of No. 7, 302; Roman inscription on, appx. 3, 4.
Altirtoppe (Altircops), 252.
Altmanstein, 224, 225.
Altmühl, 223, 227, 230.
Amlass, 139.
Anderson, Francis, Maier of Newcastle, 144;—Ralph, 155; stealing lead from Alnwick Castle, 158, 163;—John, 169; of Ellington, 170; Sir Francis, 177.
Andrew house, 169.
Ancread, Sir Richd., 177.
Anglo-Saxon, 251.
Ankenum, Earl of, 176.
Antiquaries, Society of, 231, 239.
Antiquities, found at Norby Estate, 205; Roman, 212, 221, 229, 264; Roman, found in Germany, 227; Mithraic, at Housesteads, 263; Roman British, 265; in a cave at Housesteads, 275.
Antonine, Itinera of, 237; Wall of, 244.
Antonines, 228.
Antoninus, the Itinerary of, 118; Emperor, 219; Pius, 226; M. Aurelius, 251.
Apleby, 180.
Apuleius, 286, 287.
Aquila, station of, 228.
Archæologia, 231.
Arethusius, Marcus, 309.
Armamentario, 121.
Armstrong, Edward, for horse stealing, 157, 163; Simon, 161, 162; Lancelet, 170.
Armstrong's map, 261, 262.
Armitage milne, 157.
Armour, found near Stanhope, 16; kinds of, mentioned in the religious books of the Hebrews, 26 to 29.
Arrendall, 179.
Arrows, 38; heads of bronze, 201, 202.
Arrundal, Jno., 174a.
Artobriga, 223.
Ashburnham, Wm., 180; Sir Dennis, 181.
Ashdown, in Essex, 139.
Assizes, calendar of prisoners at, 149 to 154.
Athens, 201.
Atkinson, Mr., 126.
Auckland, 199; Castle, 195, 198, 199, 200;—meeting at, 196.
Augsburgh, 222, 228.
Aurelius Marcus, 209, 220, 227, 229, 315.
Avendale, Lord, 215.

- Aventinus, 223, 226.
 Ayneham Moore, 157.
 Aynealey, Will'm, 171, 172.
- B.
- Baines, John, 157.
 Baker, Capt., 186, 197; George, 191.
 Bamborough, 192; plan of, 217.
 Bardon-burn, 209, 271.
 Barkeahire, 174.
 Barnaby, Sir John, 175.
 Barnham, Sir Robert, 176.
 Barrows, in Norway, 205 to 207; Roman and German, 225, 227; in Kirkmabrak, 249.
 Barty, Stamford Pyregryn, 177.
 Bassett, Sir Wm., 178.
 Bassinton, 257, 258.
 Bateman, George, 190.
 Bates, Mr. Thomas, 203; Thomas, refuses to take oaths, 150, 155, 156, 164, 166.
 Bath, 178.
 Bath, Roman, at Housesteads, 269.
 Bathen, Thomas, 163.
 Bavaria, History of, 219.
 Bavarian frontier, 224.
 Bavington, 261.
 Bawides, William, 159.
 Baxter, 244, 251.
 Bayahill, 161.
 Beadnell, George, esq., indicted for murder, 150; Thomas, gent., indicted for murder, 150.
 Beads, gold, found on Chesterhope Common, 1 to 9.
 Beanley (Benley), 256; estate, 257; barony of, 257; plantation, 257.
 Beaufront, 247, 269.
 Beaumont, Mrs. 182; Colonel, 182.
 Beaumont-water, 261.
 Beawcasteldale, 215.
 Beck, 249.
 Bede, the Venerable, 125.
 Bedford, 174.
 Bedlington, 114.
 Beednell, Elizabeth, 155; Thomas, 155; Robert, 155; George, sen., 155; George, junr., 155; George, gent., 168.
 Beeralston, 174a.
 Beilby, Mrs., 201; Mr. 201.
 Belass, Will., 199.
 Belasy, Major, 196; Capt., 196, 197.
 Bell-burn, 142.
 Bell, Gawen, 158; George, felony, 152, 155; Mr. John, 171.
 Bellasor, Major William, 187.
 Bellingham, 260.
 Bels-hunkings, 262.
 Belsay, 247.
 Belshawe, 247.
 Belsoe, 168.
 Bemfeld, 226.
 Bennett, Sir John, knt., 174.
 Benson, 250.
 Benwell, 129; two bronze figures discovered at the Roman Station near, 131.
 Berkenhead, Sir J., 180.
 Bernicia, kingdom of, 124.
 Berry, Sir Thom., 174a.
 Berwick, 100, 177.
 Bewick, 239; Bridge, 255; Moor, 256; Village, 256.
 Bewmorris, 181.
 Biker Sand, 218.
 Binchester, 240; Roman name of Vinovia, 118; inscription found near, 142.
 Bingfield, 167.
 Birnett, Roger, yeom., 169.
 Bishop Auckland, 120.
 Bishop's Castle, 178.
 Biscop, Benedict, 124.
 Black-Hedley, 146.
 Black-Heddon, 151, 157.
 Black Chester, 239, 262.
 Black-carts, 254.
 Blackett, Lady, 203.
 Blackiston, Will., 190; Sir Wm., 196; Mr. Wm., 196, 197.
 Blairston, Thomas, gent., 166.
 Blairston, Nicholas, 169.
 Blake Chesters, 235.
 Blanchland, 120.
 Bleckingley, 179.
 Blenkinsop coal mines, 270.
 Blith Nook, 192.
 Bloodworth, Sir Thom., 179.
 Bolam, 240; parish of, 259.
 Bolham (Bolton), 262.
 Boorman George, 175.
 Borcovicus (Housesteads), 266.
 Bornne, 218.
 Bosing, 174a.
 Bothal, 258.
 Botle, 245.
 Bourne, George, stealing sheep, 157.
 Bower, 158, 161.
 Bowers, 271.
 Bowes, Fr., 190.
 Brabant, Hen., 144.
 Brackley, 177.
 Braddy, Widow, 159.
 Bradley, 270, 271.
 Bradshaw, Sir Roger, 176.
 Brae, 244.
 Bramber, 179.
 Brand, Rev. John, 231; Mr., 231, 232, 266; Michael, 170.
 Brand's Newcastle, 135.
 Brandling, Sir Francis, knt., late Sherife of Northumberland, 158, 164, 166, 168.
 Branfield, Sir Copelston, 174a.
 Brass, implements of, 11; An Enquiry into the Era when used in Purposes to which Iron is now applied, 17 to 22; ancient trade in, 38.
 Brasse, William, 190.
 Breamish (Bremyshe), 255, 256, 257; Breamish river, 239, 240; gorge of, 239.
 Breit, village of, 266.
 Bremenium (Riechester), 250; Bremenium (Rochester), 254.
 Bremenio, 241.
 Brewis, John, stealing sheep, 151, 155, 156, 163, 165.
 Bricknock, 181.
 Bridgewater, 178.
 Bridport, 175.

Brigantes, 208.
 Brinkburn Priory, 240.
 Brisley (Braceley), 261.
 Brisley Tower, 262.
 Britain, 209, 219, 235, 236, 244, 246, 250; Duke of, 119; coins of, 133; Roman empire in, 233; Ancient, 239; names of Roman cities in, 244; Roman soldiers in, 244.
 Britannia, Camden's, 231.
 British Antiquities found in various parts of England, 86.
 Britons, 219, 239, 240, 243, 244, 250; caers or forts of the, 245; Romanized, 245.
 Brockett, Mr. J. T., letter from, 135.
 Bromley Lough, 268.
 Bronze, brass, conclusions respecting, 93 to 98.
 Broughlaw, 239.
 Brougham Castle, appx. 3; ancient name of, appx. 3.
 Brovacum, the ancient name of Brougham Castle, appx. 3.
 Browne, Christopher, 148; Richard, 149; Raiph, 153; Thomas, 153, 187; Reynold, 155; Sir Adam, bt., 179.
 Broxholme, Wm., 177.
 Bruce, Robt., penny of, 100.
 Brumell, John, esq., 11.
 Bryan, Lord, 177.
 Buchanan, 219.
 Buchner, J. Andreas, 219.
 Buckingham Town, 174.
 Buckinghamshire, 174.
 Buckley, Lord, 181.
 Buckton, 159.
 Bullet, 255.
 Bulow, John de, 139.
 Burdon, Galf'o de, 116.
 Burdoswald, 129, 265.
 Burdus, Thomas, 190.
 Burgstall, 227.
 Burgh, 245.
 Burgh upon Sands, appx. 4.
 Burgundii, 227.
 Burgundians, 221.
 Burgundy, 256.
 Burial, customs of burying valuable articles, 5; in times of the Saxons, 7.
 Buricianis, 226, 227.
 Burii, 221, 227.
 Burn, 245.
 Burne, George, 162; John, for murder, 158, 162.
 Burshblades, 120.
 Bushoprick, 165.
 Busy-Gap, 264.
 Buta, Earl of, 120.
 Butsfield, West, 102.
 Byck, Sir Ed., 179.
 Byer's Green, 142.
 Byerley Coll., 197; Anthony, 197.

C.

Caer, a mound, 244.
 Caer Almond, 257.
 Caerlaw, 257.
 Caers-hope, Kers-hope, 262.
 Caer-vorwyn, 261.
 Caer-vorran, 266, 270; Remarks on Inscriptions to

Zodiacal Ceres at, 107 to 111; Castle, 264; Roman Wall near, 264; station at, 268; inscription at, 292.
 Caesar, 211.
 Caesarea, 226.
 Caird or Card-law, 254.
 Cairney Wannie, 249.
 Cairns, 3, 243; early usage of, 2, 3; universality of, 9; antiquity of the use of, 8; Ancient British, 243.
 Cairn burial, not in use since the introduction of Christianity, 7.
 Caledonia, 244.
 Caley, John, esq., 213, 214.
 Callaly Castle Hill, 239.
 Callington, 174a.
 Cambeck Fort, 283.
 Cambois (Camus), 249, 259.
 Cambridge Towne, 174; University, 174.
 Cambridgeshire, 174, 252.
 Camden, 130, 212, 219, 253.
 Camden's Britannia, 231, 261; Account of Roman Wall, 264.
 Cammelfoorde, 174a.
 Campe, Account of Ancient, 132; British and Saxon, 239; Roman, 240, 250; Saxon, 240; remains of Ancient British, 240, 243, 257.
 Campus Sylvestria, 255.
 Camus (Cambois), 260.
 Canterbury, 176; seal of the last treasurer of the Augustine Monastery at, 105; Dean of, 106.
 Canuti Magna, 138.
 Car, a pool, 245.
 Caracalla, 220.
 Carantinus Flavius, the Cragg of, 126.
 Carby (Kirby), 262.
 Cardiganshire, 181.
 Carleolum, 136, 139.
 Carlisle, 174a, 202, 215, 219, 254; gaole att, 153, 168; old inscriptions found at, appx. 5.
 Carlyle, Miss, 201, 202; Rev. J. D., 201, 202.
 Carnarthen Towne, 181.
 Carnaby, Raiph, esq., 157, 158, 168; Sir William, knt. (a justice), 149.
 Carr, Ralph, 144; Thomas, esq., of Forde, Sheriff of Northumberland, 164, 166, 170; William, esq., 160, 161; Sir Robert, 176; Capt., 196, 197; Cuthbert, Mr., 197.
 Carraw, 204, 264.
 Carrhill, 126.
 Carrowbrugh, 129.
 Carrvorran (Magna), 208.
 Carley (Caesley), 262.
 Carter, derivation of the word, 254.
 Carter-fell, 254.
 Carter-ton, 254.
 Carterch, Sir Geo., 175.
 Carthur, 254.
 Cartington, 158, 169.
 Carvoran (Magna), 261.
 Castella, Roman, 225.
 Castle Hill, 240.
 Castlerising, 177.
 Castledforth, 178.
 Catalogue and Donations (see end of this vol.)
 Catcherside, 249.
 Cateranes, 256.

- Oateraneshole, 256.
 Oatten, 160.
 Caucasus, Mount, arrow heads found near, 201, 202.
 Caves, King and Queen's, 268.
 Celeusum, 222, 223, 226.
 Celsus, quotation from his work against Christianity, 308, 309; eight gates of, 315.
 Celts, Ancient British instruments found, 86; supposed to be heads of spears, 90; or chisels, 90; or offensive weapons, 90; the ignis fatuus of antiquaries, 91.
 Celtic terms, 243, 244.
 Chalmers, 243, 247.
 Channel Kirk, 241.
 Chapel-hill, 272, 273.
 Chariots, 38.
 Charles 2nd, Papers relating to the History of Durham in the Time of, 187.
 Charleton, Gawin, for not giving bond for good behavior, 155, 161, 163; Gerrard, felony, 151, 155; John, stealing kine, 158, 162, 163, 166; Ellen, stealing cattle, 161; Sir Job, 178.
 Charlton (Saxon Carlton), 247.
 Chatton, stone coffin found at, 99; Vicar of, 100.
 Chelmondy, Thom., 174.
 Chesbrough, Nicholas, 155.
 Cheahire, 174.
 Chester, 174, 283, 290.
 Chester South Moor, 197.
 Chester or Cheater in the Wall, 264.
 Chester-le-Street, 114.
 Chester-hope, 262.
 Chester-hope Common, 1, 2.
 Chester-hope Cairn, 8.
 Chesters, Great, 212; inscriptions discovered at, 129.
 Chesters, Little (Vindolana), 129, 209; sepulchral inscription found at, 208.
 Chetwind, Walter, 178.
 Cheviot, 256; south east of, 254.
 Chew-green, (ad Fines), 240, 254.
 Chicken, Jenkin, 169.
 Chicley, Sir Thom., 174.
 Chiddero, 176.
 Chipchase, 165.
 Chipchase Castle, 250.
 Chippenham, 180.
 Chippingwicham, 174.
 Chirton, 236.
 Chirton, West, 235.
 Chitcheater, 179.
 Christmas, Wm., esq., 7.
 Churban, William, 154.
 Churchell, Sir Winston, 174.
 Cilurnum, the ancient name of Walwick Chesters, 129, 208.
 Circles, stone, Ancient British, 243.
 Cirencester, Richard of, 239; 257.
 Clareanna, 222.
 Clark, Jeronimiah, 146.
 Clarke, Jo., 144; Katherine, 167; Robert, 167; Mary, 167; Thomas of Dennyeh, 168; Sir Fra., 176; Henry, 180.
 Clau'ing, Sir John, knt., 150, 151, 153, 156, 157, 158, 160, 170.
 Clayton, Nathaniel, esq., 128.
 Clement, Pope, the 7th, 214.
 Cleugh, 245.
 Clinch Hill, 239.
 Cock-play, 269.
 Cockerton, 188.
 Cockshawe, 153.
 Cohors quarta Gallorum, 209, 211; Lingonum (Lugorum), 236.
 Coins, Saxon Northumbrian, 124; Pinkerton's account of a Saxon, 125; brass, of the Emperor Hadrian, 133; Roman, 134, 221, 227; found near Blake Chesters, 235.
 Cold Knuckles, 120, 121.
 Cold-Pike Hill, 120.
 Cola, Leve^{nt} Colonell Ralph, 187; Sir Nicholas, 190, 191, 196, 197.
 Collingwood, Thomas, gent, 159; Sir Robert, knt., 171, 172; Dan, 177.
 Comb, 245.
 Commons, court party in the House of, in 1677, 173.
 Compton, Sir John, 174; Sir Francis, 180.
 Conett, Sir John, 179.
 Constantinople, 201.
 Conyers, Capt., 196, 197; Jo., 187.
 Cook, Rev. Jos., on a stone coffin found at Chatton, 99, 100.
 Cooke, John, 172; Robt., 177.
 Cop, 245.
 Copeley, Godf., 188.
 Copper, 64.
 Coquet, 251, 258, 260.
 Corbridge (Corstopitum), 118, 120, 141, 153; Vicar of, 264.
 Cordell, Sir Robt., 179.
 Corey, Franc., 177.
 Corfe, 174a.
 Corio, 241.
 Cornhills, 251.
 Cornforth, 188.
 Cornelius, Victor, 211.
 Cornwall, 9, 174; Cornwall, Major, 179.
 Coroner in 1628, 150.
 Corstopitum, 118.
 Corstoplio, 241.
 Cotten, Sir John, 176.
 Cotterell, Sir Chas., 181.
 Cotton, Mr., 264.
 Cottonian manuscript, 216, 217.
 Counties, Northern, 231.
 Cousin, Bp., Copy of Letter from, in 1665, 195.
 Coventry, Hen., Sect. of State, 181.
 Coxan, Gerard, 153, 155, 159, 162; George, 153, 154.
 Crag, 243.
 Cramlington, Chapelry of, 258.
 Cramond, 257.
 Cranstons, Lord, 165.
 Crawhall, Mr. Thomas, 182.
 Crawley (Crawlawe), 257.
 Crawley Tower (the Alauna Amnis), 239, 240, 257.
 Creeklade, 180.
 Cresswell, 167.
 Cresswell, John, of Cresswell, esq., 167, 168.
 Crete, Elias of, 309.
 Crooke, Oake, 144, 145.
 Croser, Gawen, stealing a mare, 161, 162.
 Cross Hill, 239.
 Crowe, William, 172.

Culley, Matthew, esq., of Akeld, drawings of two swords, 11, 12; his account of an ancient sword, appx. 6.
 Cumberland, 168, 219, 249, 255, 256, 264, 288, appx. 4; ancient camp in, 132; high sheriff of, 168.
 Cumbria, 139.
 Cummins, property of, 104.
 Cuneacester, monks of, 113.
 Curia, 241.
 Currey, Thomas, felony, 151, 154.

D.

Dacre, Thomas, Lord, 213; William, Lord of the North, letter from, and seal of, 213, 214, 215.
 Dacres, Lord, 122.
 Dale, 245.
 Dally Castle, 104.
 Dalton, Robert, gent., 150, 165.
 Dalwiche, 180.
 Danes, 246, 255.
 Dani, 139.
 Danorum, 141.
 Danus, 138.
 Danube, 219, 221, 222, 223, 229, 230; bed of, 225; sources of, 224; wall across, 226.
 Darcy, Capt., 196, 197.
 Darris Hall, 160, 161.
 Davidson, Thos., esq., 1, 2, 9, 10; James, 156.
 Davison, Sir Tho., high sheriffe, 191; Tho., 190, 191; George, 162; Ralph, 190, 191, 196, 197.
 Dawson's, John, returne, 194.
 De Læt on gems, 207.
 Dean, 245.
 Dearing, Sir Edwd., 178.
 Decius Nemmontanus, 142.
 Deira, the people of, 124; Earl of, 255.
 Deirae, 139.
 Delavale, Sir John (a justice), 149, 150, 152, 157, 159, 160, 161, 165, 169; Edward, gent., of Alnwick Castle, 150; Edward, gent., of Alnwick Abbey, 165; Robert, esq., 158; John, gent., a coroner for Northumberland, 150.
 Delaval, Dr., 264.
 Delavall, Sir Ralph, 177.
 Delfa, 120.
 Denbyshire, 181.
 Deneloehe, 224.
 Denmark, 255.
 Dennyson, Christopher, murder, 152, 154; Ambrosius, 154; Edward, murder, 153, 154.
 Dent, Thomas, 171.
 Denton, opening of an ancient grave near, 101; Hall, 101.
 Depuis, M., 284.
 Dersey, Conyers, 181.
 Derwentio, 118.
 Derwent, river, 119.
 Devil's Wall, 221; tour along, 219.
 Devil's Causeway, 251, 259.
 Devizes, 180.
 Devonshire, 174a.
 Dickson, Mr. G. A., letter from, 132, appx. 1; Roman altar, presented by, appx. 3; inscription, communicated by, appx. 5; bronze stamp, presented by, appx. 6.
 Dike, 245.
 Dillinglay, Sir Tho., 179.
 Dixon, John, 155.
 Dobson, Henry, 157.
 Dodd, Roger, 151, 155, 165.
 Döderlein, 222.
 Doleman, Sir Tho., 174.
 Donaldson, David, refuses to take oaths, 150, 155, 156, 163, 164, 167.
 Donations and Catalogue, (see end of the vol.)
 Donaworth, 221.
 Doomsday Book, 247.
 Dorset, 139.
 Dorsetshire, 174.
 Dover, 181.
 Dowgesburne, 153.
 Dowges, Will., 153.
 Downeings, Edward, manslaughter, 150.
 Downes, Edward, 155.
 Downing, Sir George, 177.
 Doyley, Sir Wm., 177.
 Drake, Sir William, bart., 174.
 Drakuina, 222.
 Druidism lingers in England, 8.
 Druridge (Dryrigg), 262.
 Dryden, Mr., 269.
 Dultree, 253.
 Dumbarton, 124.
 Dumblain, Ltd., 177.
 Dumetle, 170.
 Dumfreis, 215.
 Dun or Don, a hill, 244.
 Duncom, Wm., 179.
 Duncomb, Sir John, 179.
 Dunelm, 196; Monasterii of, 116.
 Dun-holm, 114.
 Dunkelspiel, 221.
 Dunn, John, 160.
 Dunnage, 179.
 Dunolm, Bursario, 116.
 Dunterlee, 260.
 Durham, 113, 115, 118, 175, 190, 193, 198, 199; monks of, 112; Prior of, 117; Priory of, 117; seventh Prebendary of, 117; Dean and Chapter of, 117; Shute, Bishop of, 143; Cousin, John, Bishop of, 143, 144, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200; assizes at, 169; gaole of, 187; county of, 187; papers relating to the general history of the county of, 187 to 200; castle at, 188; 197; Deputy Lieutenants of the county of, 190, Lord Lieutenant of the county of, 190; city of, 196.
 Durtree-burn, 253.
 Dutch Fleet, 198.
 Dyett, Richd., 178.

E.

Karl, name of, 137.
 Earnly, Sir Jno., 180.
 Earley Common, one hundred celts found at, 86.
 Easington beacon, 197.
 East-gate, (Stanhope), 13
 Eastlow, 174a.
 Ebchester, 144, 145, 240; supposed Vindomora, 118
 119; Bridgend, 145, 146, 147.

Eogfrith, account of, 124, 125; Saxon coin of, 124, 125.
 Eckhell on ancient coins, 133.
 Edderley, 193.
 Eden, river, appx. 3.
 Edge tools in use by the Romans, 63; of brass, not used by the ancient Britons in Cæsar's time, 83.
 Edgerton, Randell, 178.
 Edinburgh, 241.
 Edmonsbury, 179.
 Edred, 141.
 Edward I., 261.
 Eglington, parish of, 255; village, 255; church of, 256.
 Ehingen, 222, 228; village of, 224.
 Eildon hills, 241.
 Elbe, 230.
 Elenborough, 265.
 Elias of Crete, his commentary on the Mithraic rites, 309.
 Eliahaw, 252.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 214, 216.
 Ella, fort of, 251.
 Ellet, Robt., 163.
 Ellerington, Mr., 188.
 Ellington, 170.
 Elliott, Thomas, 163.
 Ellison, Robt., esq., appx. 7.
 Elliot, Archibald, 166.
 Ellwang, 221.
 Ellwangen, 224.
 Elsbury, 251.
 Elsdon, Michael, 153, 155.
 Elsdon, John, 165.
 Elsdon, 252; parish of, 251; village, 251.
 Elstwick, 160, 165.
 Elwes, Sir John, 180.
 Ely, etymon of, 252.
 Emblehope-burn, 253.
 Emmezheim, 227.
 England, 219, 245, 253, 254, 262; Commonwealth of, 171; Hume's History of, 173; North of, 246, 247, 262; parts of, 255; beauties of, 259.
 English miles, 218.
 Enning, village, 223.
 Epiaco, 240.
 Epiacum, 118.
 Ericus, 138.
 Erkertshosen, 224.
 Errington, 158, 269.
 Errington, Nicholas, 158; Raiph, 167.
 Escott, Sir Thom., 180.
 Essex, 139, 176.
 Eubulus, 276.
 Eustatius, 278.
 Evesham, 181.
 Ewart, swords found near, 11; Park, 11, 17.
 Exeter, 174.
 Eyberg, 224.
 Eye, 179.

F.

Faber, Rev. George Stanley, 107, 111, 281, 303;
 Origin of Pagan Idolatry, 299.
 Falkirk, 240, 241.
 Fallowfield, inscription on, 126.

Falstone, Saxon inscription on a stone found near, 103; chapelry of, 104.
 Farn Island, 7.
 Fawnes, 160.
 Fell, 246.
 Fen, 246.
 Felton, Sir Hen., 179.
 Fenwick Wood, 261.
 Fenwick, Mr., of Dipton, 119; Thomas, 158, 160; Anthony, 168; Martin, 171, 172; Edward, esq., 171, 172; Robert, 161, 165; Robert, of Bedlington, knt. of the shire, 172; Sir John, knt., 151, 157, 159, 160, 165, 169, 177; William, gent., 168, 189; Sir William, knt., 168, 188; William, of Wallington, knt. of the shire, 171.
 Fenwyke, Sir Ralph, knt., 214.
 Ferrybridge, 122.
 Fetherstonhalgh, Tho., 199.
 Fetherston, Capt., 196.
 Finch, Daniel, 180.
 Firmicus, Julius, religion of Mithras by, 317.
 Fitzharding, Lord, 178.
 Flatternesse, 218.
 Flemmyng, Lord, 215.
 Flint, 181.
 Flintshire, 181.
 Flodden, 12.
 Foorde, Sir Henry, 174; Sir Richard, 175.
 Forde, 166.
 Forsten, 264.
 Forster, Richard, esq., 171, 172; John, 152; John, al's Clowers John, 168; Richard for stealing cattle, 158, 163.
 Forth, Firth of, 244, 257.
 Foster, Tho., 189.
 Fox, Somerset, 178; Sir Stephen, 180.
 Framlington Hall Hill, 240.
 France, 244.
 Franks, 230.
 Frankeling, Sir Rich., 175.
 French, George, 170.
 Friddinam, Sir Joseph, 174.
 Froop, Lewis, 190.
 Frost, Lieewis, 189.
 Fryer's Map, 261.
 Fuggenstall, 226.
 Funt, George, 176.

G.

Gadanica, 241.
 Gage (Gagie), family of, appx. 5.
 Gale, 265.
 Gallowlaw, 257.
 Gallowaye, 215.
 Gammels path, 254.
 Gaol of Northumberland, called the High Castle, 164; indenture for delivering over in 1627, 164, and in 1629, 166.
 Gaole, things belonging to, 170.
 Gardyner, Nicholas, 169.
 Garrett, 251.
 Garretsheels, 251.
 Garth, high constable, 193, 194.
 Gascoyne, Thomas, under sheriff, 166.
 Gateshead, 218, 229; parish church of, appx. 6.
 Gateside, 218.

- Geislinger Steig, 228.
 Gelston Moor, 271.
 Gemünd, 228.
 Georges, Lord, 176.
 Gerard, name of, 251.
 Gerard Sheels, 251.
 Gerard, Lord, 199; Sir Gilbert, 181, 198, 199, 200.
 German, pamphlet, extract from, 219 to 230; tribes, 221, 229; barrows, 225.
 Germanicum, 226.
 Germans, 220, 224.
 Germany, Roman Wall through, 219.
 Gersons-field, 252.
 Gerston, 252.
 Gesner, 207.
 Gibson, Mr., 263, 269, 273; George, 163; Bishop, 252.
 Gibson's Camden, 261.
 Gilby, Thomas, clerk of assize, 154; 155, 162, 163, 164, 167.
 Gilfoorde, 179.
 Gill, Humphrey, 172.
 Gillesland, 214.
 Gilpatrick, John, 149.
 Giseburne, Will'o de, 116.
 Glanton, village of, 239, 257; Roman station near, 239.
 Glasgaw, 214.
 Glen, a valley, 244.
 Glenwhelt, 269.
 Glenwright, Anthony, 155.
 Gloucester, 175.
 Gmünd, 224.
 Goddert, John, yeom., 166.
 Godolphin, Signey, 174; Sir Wm., bart., 174a.
 Gold, ancient use of ornaments of, 4.
 Goldhill, 120, 121.
 Goldstone, Thomas, 106.
 Goldwell, Dr., 106.
 Gomme, James, esq., 105, 106.
 Göppingen, 224.
 Gordian, the Emperor, 118, 129.
 Gordon, Alexander, 219, 265; Itinerary, 265.
 Gotha, 243.
 Gouer, Louiston, 178.
 Gough, Mr., 231, 232.
 Gough's Camden's Britannia, 283.
 Gouling, Hen., 179; Pierce, 179.
 Gower, Sir Thom., 188, 189.
 Graham, Mrs., appx. 4.
 Graistok, 215.
 Gray's Inn, 113.
 Gray, Jennetta, 155, 156, 163, 167.
 Green-carts, 254.
 Greenshaw Hill, 239.
 Grenfield, Barnard, esq., 174.
 Gretham, 199.
 Grey, Sir Arthur, knt., 158; William Lord de Warke, 167; Jane, refuses oaths, 160, 164.
 Greystoke, 214.
 Greystoke, Ralph Lord, 214.
 Grimsby, 177.
 Grimstead, East, 179.
 Grinden Lough, 270.
 Grospoolhole, 270.
 Gruter, 211, 284; inscriptions in, 279, 315.
 Gundelshalm, 224.
 Gundersbach, 224.
 Gunzenhausen, 221, 224, 227.
 Guy, Henry, 181.
 Gwyn, Frana., 180.
- H.
- Habitancum (Risingham), 262; Roman station of, 2.
 Hadrian, Emperor, 219, 220, 221; account of a brass coin of, 133.
 Hadrian's Vallum, 208.
 Hadrian's Wall, 134, 234.
 Hag-gate (Stanhope), 13.
 Halifax, parish of, 253.
 Hall, William, 154, 155; Matthew, felony, 150, 154, 155; Ralph, 155; George, 155; Thomas, 155; Edward, stealing kine, 155, 157; Anthony, 155, Michael, stealing kine, 160, 163; Andrew 162; John, 163; Capt., 196.
 Halton Chesters, 129, 203.
 Haltwhistle Common coal mines, 270.
 Ham, 245.
 Hammerschmiede, 224, 225, 228.
 Hampshire, 175.
 Handmer, Sir Tho., bt, 181; Sir Jho., 181.
 Hangingshawe, Joh'es, 155.
 Harald, 139.
 Harbord, Sir Charles, 174.
 Harbott, Jas, 176.
 Harbottle Castle, 100.
 Hardness, Thom., 176.
 Harehill, 239.
 Harlackendon, Thom., 176.
 Harnham, 159, 259.
 Harrison, Thomas, 144; Informatio' of, 148; Richd. 176.
 Hart beacon, 197.
 Hartab, Sir Wm., 176.
 Hartburn, 260.
 Hartefoordeshire, 175.
 Hartlepoole, 191, 194, 196, 199.
 Hartside, 153, 159, 239.
 Harvey, John, 181.
 Harwitch, 175.
 Harwood, 249.
 Hastings, 181.
 Hatherburn Cave, near Stanhope, sleeve of mail armour, supposed to be Roman, found in, 16.
 Hatton, Sir Tho., 174.
 Haughton-on-the-Side, 193.
 Hauks Bill, 218.
 Havniensis, 139.
 Haward, Sir Robt., 175; Thom., 178.
 Hawkhope Hill, 103.
 Hawley, Lord, 174a.
 Haydon Bridge, 253.
 Hayward, Sir Wm., 179.
 Headdon, 152.
 Heald, the, 250.
 Healey Field, 120.
 Heandred, 141.
 Heath, Sir John, 176.
 Heddon, 181.
 Heddon, East, 168.
 Heddon on the Wall, 159.
 Hedghope, 256.
 Hedgley, High, 256.

- Hedley, Lewees, yeom., 150; Rev. Anthony, 298, 212, 242, 263.
Hedworth, Capt., 196, 197; Ralph, 199.
Heghenigh, 116.
Heley, 160.
Helmets, 37.
Helston, 174.
Henderson, James, 168, 169, 170.
Henry III., 252.
Henry VIII., 213, 263.
Hepperg, 226.
Hepple (Heppale, Heppal, Heple, Heepeel), 251, 258; Northumbrian surname, 259.
Here (Har), 245.
Herodotus, 280.
Heron (Hearon), Cuthbert, esq., 151, 153, 158, 159, 161, 170, 189; of Chipchase, esq., 165; George, 171, 172.
Herfordshire, 175.
Hervaram, 139.
Hesenberg, 224, 229.
Hesswell, Thoma de, 116.
Heater, Richard, 167.
Hetchester, 251.
Heugh, a hight, 243.
Heworth, tithes of the Vill' de, 116; wood of, 116; chapel of, appx. 7, inscription on the bell of, appx. 6; chapel yard, coin discovered in, 125; parish clerk of, appx. 6.
Heworth, Upper, 263.
Hexham, 166, 261; church of, 124; the crypt at, 129; chapel, 260.
Hexhamshire, 260.
Hibernia, 139.
Hickesio, 140.
Hienheim, 225.
Higginfirris, 177.
Higgon, Sir Tho., knt., 174.
Hight, 151.
High Castle, jaole of, 149, 151, 156; prisoners in, 164, 166.
High Field, 147, 148.
High-hope, 256.
Higley (Higgle), 256.
Hilditanno, 139.
Hillock, 160.
Hilton, Baron, 196, 197.
Hint, 153.
Hirst, 245, 258.
Hithe, 181.
Hoard, George, 162.
Hobson, John, 193, 194.
Hodgson, Rev. John, 107, 117, 121, 125, 127, 130, 133, 136, 205, 218, 239, 242, 253, 259, 320; extract of letter from, 1, 9, 16, 98; on metals used by the ancients, 17 to 98; entrenchment at Wardley, 112; aqueduct and iron scoria at Lanchester, 118; coin presented by, 124; inscription on Fallowfield Fell, 126; Walwick Chesters, 128; calendars of prisoners in 1628, 149; indentures for delivering over the gaol of Northumberland, 164; extracts from Mickleton collection, 187; plan of Tynemouth, 216; Roman antiquities at Housesteads, 263; inscription on the bell of Heworth Chapell, appx. 6.
Hodgson, Mr. Thomas, 231; Mr., appx. 4.
Hogg, Thomas, sheep stealing, 160, 163.
Höbberg, Linden tree at, 225.
Hole Barnes, 159.
Holland, 264.
Hollands fleet, 200; men of war, 200.
Hollins, the, 147.
Holm, 245.
Holma, Sir Geo., 175; Sir Robert, 175.
Holy Island, 192.
Hope, 247.
Hopper, Joseph, 144, 145, 147; examination of, 145.
Horns Castle, 251.
Horsham, 179.
Horsii, 138.
Horsley, John, gent., 157; Thomas, esq., 171, 172; William, 172; Mr., 208, 234, 235, 236, 265, 266, 272, 283.
Horsley's Britannia Romana, 130, 265; Northumberland, 272.
Horton Castle, 239.
Hospital, St. Mary's, 264.
Houghton, 158, 194.
Hound-laws, 254.
Houseburn, 120.
Housesteads, 129, 212, 264, 271, 274, 283, 303; observations on Roman station of, and Mithraic antiquities discovered at, 263 to 320; famous station of, 265; wall and bath at, 268, 269; Mithraic cell at, 278, 307; Mithraic grotto, 317; list of antiquities found at, appx. 7.
Howard, Sir Philip, 174a; Philip, 180.
Howe, 245.
Howell, Sir Robt., bt., 180.
Huacoberct, Abbot, 7.
Hudspeth, John, 162; Thomas, 162.
Huln Abbey, 261.
Hume's History of England, 173.
Hungary (Ancient Pannonia), 211.
Hunnington, 174a.
Hunnum, North part of, 203.
Hunter, John, 169; Dr., 264, 272.
Huntingdon, 176.
Hunwick edge, 197.
Hutchinson, concerning Werdclau, 115.
Hutchinson, Hugh, felony.
Hyde, Extracts from, 280, 286, 287, 296.
Hyde, Robt., esq., 180; Lorraine, 175, 178.
Hylon, Ro., 187.
Hylton, John, 191, 197.
Hyndon, 180.
- I.
- Icinicum, 227.
Ida, 245.
Ilkley, 235.
Indenture of assize in 1629, 162.
Ing, a meadow, 246.
Ingoe (Inghow), 169, 260.
Ingolstadt, 221.
Ingram, 156, 167, 239.
Inkerton, 243.
Inscription, stone at Abdach, 227; on tablet and altar found at Tynemouth, 231; at Moreaby in Cumberland, 235; at Lanchester, 235; Runie on gold ring, 254; found at Cambeck-fort, 283; at Caervorran, 292; on altar No. 6, 300; on altar No. 7, 302; Sepulchral at Little Chesters, 208 to 212.

Instruments, blasting formerly used, 182 to 186.
 Inquisitiones, post mortem, 247.
 Ireland, Edmund, 161.
 Ireland, 124, 146, 260; Commonwealth of, 171.

J.

Jackson, Henry, 170.
 Jameson, 249.
 Jamieson, 266, 266.
 Jarlum, 139.
 Jarraw Abbey, 217.
 Jarrow, 114, 126; monastery of, 7, 117; cells of, 116, 117, 117; manor, 117; parish of, 112; church of, 124.
 Javeltra, 218.
 Jay, Chris, 177.
 Jedburgh, 241.
 Jenkins, Sir Lyonell, 181.
 Jen'ison Ra., 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 189.
 Jennings, Sir Edmd., 181.
 Jerome, Patrica of, 316.
 Johnson, John, 150, 166; George, 180.
 Joplin, Mr., 189.
 Julian, 309.
 Justin Martyr, 277.

K.

Kearsley, 262.
 Keepwick, 168.
 Kelheim (Kellhusum), 221, 223.
 Kell, 226.
 Kelleagauer, 223.
 Kellhusum (Kelheim), 223.
 Kelloburne, 160.
 Kellogg, 170.
 Kellsbach, 223.
 Kellowe, Bishop, document extracted from the register of, 116, 116.
 Kelly-burn, 166, 261.
 Kennel, 269, 270, 271.
 Kennel Bridge, 271.
 Kent, 176.
 Kenton, 260.
 Kerasay Cleugh, 262.
 Kerahope, 262.
 Keynley, 161.
 Kidlaw, 261.
 Killey, 261.
 Killingworth, Luke, esq., 171, 172.
 King's Moor, gold seal found at, 136; dissertation on, 136 to 141.
 King, Thom., 176.
 Kings, Roman, 221.
 Kirby, Richard, 176.
 Kirk, 246.
 Kirkharle, 261.
 Kirkhaugh, 270.
 Kirkmabrak, 248.
 Kirkwhelpington, 160; parish of, 248.
 Kirsop, 262.
 Kirsopp, William, 166.
 Knagg-burn, 270, 272.
 Knaredale, 271.
 Knasbrough, 181.
 Knowles, Thom., 176.
 Koesching, 226.
 Kreithof, 224.

Kuppenberg, 224, 225.
 Kyllham, 162.
 Kyles, 261.

L.

Ladbrook, Celts and Roman antiquities at, 96.
 Ladley, Robert, 169.
 Lady Well, 260.
 Laings' Looneing, 146.
 Lake, Sir Lance, 177; Sir Francis, bart, 178.
 Lampton, Mr. Henry, 187, 191, 196, 197.
 Lancashire, 176.
 Lancaster, 176.
 Lanchester, 112; arrow found on the Common at, 102; ancient aqueduct and iron scoria in the parish of, 118; supposed Vindomora, 118; Longovicum, 119; ancient importance of, 119; iron stone at, 120; station at, 120, 266; conjecture of the cause of scoria at, 121; barracks and magazines, 129; inscriptions found at, 130.
 Lang Horsley, 167.
 Langford, Viscount, 179.
 Langley Shanks, 161; Castle, 271.
 Langley Ro., 188.
 Lapis ollaris, 207.
 Lar, found near Benwell, 131.
 Lattimore, Lord, 174a.
 Laugor Castle, 170.
 Lauringen, 221, 229.
 Laurvig, county of, 206.
 Law, meaning of the word, 113, 114, 246.
 Lawley, Sir Francis, 178.
 Lawson, Robert, 168.
 Layton, Sir William, knt., 168.
 Leadmines, Allenheads, 182; instruments used for blasting, 182.
 Leak, Major, 202.
 Leame, 169.
 Leam lane, 112.
 Leamondson, 168.
 Ledenhoke, 218.
 Lee, 246.
 Leeming, Mr., 188.
 Leepish, 162.
 Legg, Geo., 180.
 Leicester, Earl of, 262.
 Leicestershire, 176.
 Leighton, William, 168, 162.
 Leland, 115; his account of Roman Wall, 263.
 Lemedon, 160.
 Leontica, rites, 313.
 Leaburg, 168.
 Leakeard, 174.
 Letter, original, of the reign of Henry VIII., 213 to 216.
 Lewes, 179.
 Lhuyd, 260, 261.
 Liddal, 262.
 Lilburne, George, 187.
 Lillburn, 266.
 Lille-sund, 266.
 Lincolnshire, 176.
 Lind, 206.
 Lindisfarne, 7, 114.
 Lineregis, 174a.
 Linhope, 239.

Lintbrigg, 170.
 Lisle, Robert, esq., 171, 172.
 Lismekil Church, 7.
 Litchfield, 178.
 Little, Anthony, 155; Robert, 155, 162.
 Löllenfeld, 224, 227.
 London, 189, 213; Society of Antiquaries of, 231.
 Longhurst, 258.
 Longovicum, 118.
 Longreche, 218.
 Loah, James, esq., 202.
 Losodica, 228.
 Loughmaban, 215.
 Lowder, Sir Wm., 181.
 Lowes, Mr. Wm., 209.
 Lowes, forest of, 270, 271.
 Lowson, Henry, his returns, 194.
 Lowther, river, appx. 3.
 Luckar, 152, 155.
 Lucy, Sir Kingsmill, bt., 175.
 Ludgershall, 180.
 Ludloe, 178.
 Lumley, John, prisoner, 149, 155, 165.
 Lyceum, Royal Bavarian, 219.
 Lye, 252.
 Lylburne, West, 158.
 Lyn, a pool, 244.
 Lynregis, 177.
 Lynsey, Nicholas, 152, 165.

M.

Macholl, Marmaduci, gent, 167.
 Mackenzie and Dent's History of Northumberland, 258.
 Macrobius, 278, 286, 287, 288, 294, 295, 297.
 Magna Britannia, 139.
 Magna (Carvorran), 261.
 Magnuson, Professor Finno, dissertation on Runic inscription on ring by, 136, 254, 255.
 Maiden Castle, 115; Way, 261.
 Malberry, 180.
 Malden, 175.
 Malmsberry, 180.
 Manley's Law Interpreter, 173.
 Manuscripts, Mickleton, 149.
 Marcomanni, 227, 229.
 Marshall, Thomas, examination of, 144, 145; George, 150, 156; James, for murder, 150, 155, 163; James, of Lintbrigg, 170.
 Masters, Sir Ed., 176.
 Matfen, 203.
 Mather, Thomas, stealing a quise, 160, 162.
 Maughlin, George, murder, 153, 155; Bartram, murder, 153, 155.
 Maximinus, 220, 232.
 Maximus, Q. Jul., 272.
 May, Baptist, 179; Richard, 179.
 Maydston, 176.
 Maynard, Sir John, 174a.
 Medianis, 222, 227.
 Meclridge, 258.
 Melkrig, 264.
 Menelaus, the battle axe of, 34.
 Merioneth, 181.
 Mersfen, 169.

Metals, purposes for which used by the ancients, 92 to 98.
 Meursius, 278.
 Michel's Mount, 225.
 Mickleton Collection, extracts from 31st volume of, 187; Manuscripts, 143, 147, 149.
 Mickley, 260.
 Middleham, 116, 117.
 Middlesex, county of, 171, 177.
 Middleton, Thomas, esq., 151.
 Midford, Mr. Wm., 190.
 Midhurst, 179.
 Middleton, Thomas, esq., of Belsoe, 158, 161.
 Milburne Grange, 157.
 Milburne, Cuthbert, horse stealing, 159, 160, 162; Simon, 162; Raiph, 167; Isabella, 170.
 Miles, rites of, 313.
 Mill hills, 161.
 Mindrum (Myndrom), 261.
 Minsteracres, plantations of, 271.
 Miscellanea Aulica, 143.
 Mitford, 260; Castle, 100; Robert, esq., 171, 172.
 Mithras, 295; worship of, 274, 277; information concerning, 275; the father and creator of all things, 276; cave of, 276, 311, 316; rites of, 279, 312; mysteries of, 279, 307, 308, 313; tablet of, found at York, 283; sun, 283; attendants on, 286; the Meda, 289; altars of, 292; figure of, 292, 294; seat of, 294; ceremonies performed at the temple of, 303; orgies of, 305, 311; religion of, 308, 317; cells of, 307, 308; severities of, 309; followers of, 311; disciples of, 311; soldier of, 313; lions of, 314; altar to, 315.
 Mithraic ceremonies, 275; cavern, 276, 278, 279, 292; worship, 280, 282; signs, 286; sculptures, 286; tables, 286; mysteries, 287, 289; gates, 288; Dress, 290; cave, 291; religion, 291; antiquities, 293, 296; rites, 298, 305, 309; solemnities, 312; lodge or guild, 315; lions, 316; grotto at Housesteads, 317.
 Mithraism, 309; origin of, 305; devotees of, 315; Teleutè of, 315; connection with magic, &c., 316.
 Moller-stead, 260.
 Monasticon, 216.
 Mönckaroth, town of, 224.
 Monkwearmouth, monastery of, 7, 124.
 Montague, Geo., 181.
 Montford, Simon de, 252.
 Montfaucon, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287.
 Monuments, Roman, 227.
 Moresby, inscription at, 235.
 Moret, John, 230.
 Morley, Sir Wm., 179.
 Morpeth, 177, 188, 189, 249; sessions at, 150, 156.
 Morrison, Will'mus, 164.
 Mota, 153; hill, 251.
 Murder, 150.
 Muschamp, Sir William, knt., 152, 158, 159, 160, 165, 169, 170.
 Musgrave, John, 163; Sir Christopher, 174; Sir Philip, bart., 180; an accuser of Lord Dacre, 214.
 Muskel scalp, 218.
 Mynhead, 178.

N.

Names of places, etymology of, 242 to 262.
 Nassenfels, 229.

- Nayler, Thomas, 160.
 Nazianzen, Gregory, oration against Julian, 309.
 Neckar, river, 230; neighbourhood of the, 228.
 Neptune, figure of, found at Carraw, 203.
 Nervii, 211.
 Nevil, Sir John, 122.
 Newbegin, 169.
 Newbiggin, Easter, 169; Wester, 169.
 Newbottle, 148.
 Newcastle, 166, 177, 182, 207, 237, 250, 263, 264;
 seal of the nunnery of St. Bartholomew at, 136;
 Antiquarian Society, 136, 173, 206, 213; maior of,
 144, 148; prisoners confined in, 1628 and 1629, in
 the high castle of, 149; Castle of, 164, 162; assizes
 at in 1629, 166; vicar of, 216; Bird's-eye View of,
 218; termination of the Roman Wall at, 219, 234;
 Pons ÆlIIi, 260; History of, 266; Town Moor of,
 270.
 News Balliste Kye, 218.
 Newham, 161, 166.
 Neues under line, 178.
 Newlandes, 162.
 Newport, Andrew, 181.
 New Sarum, 180.
 Newahoram, 179.
 Newton, 162, 176.
 Newton, West, 169.
 Newton, John, 162; Capt., 190, 191, 197; Lieut., 193;
 Tom, 194.
 Nicholas, Sir Ed., 180; Sir Jno., 181.
 Niele, Thomas, esq., 176.
 Nisbet, Mrs., 202.
 Nixon, John, 161.
 Noell, Ed., 178.
 Norby estate, antiquities found at, 206.
 Nordgau Woods, 220.
 Norfolk, 177.
 Norham, 192.
 Normans, 246, 247.
 Norman, local names, 246; scribes, 247; conquest, 247,
 252.
 Normandy, 266.
 North, plot in the, 143 to 148.
 Northallerton, 181.
 Northampton, 177.
 Northhurst, 268.
 Northmen, 266.
 Northumberland, 144, 146, 146, 147, 148, 149, 154,
 170, 177, 203, 239, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 251,
 252, 256, 259, 262, 292; Duke of, 1, 2, 8, 9, 10;
 Earl of, 122, 256; King of, 124; county of, 11, 126,
 128, 131, 164, 208, 216; assizes for, in 1628 and
 1629, 149; gaol delivery for, in 1628, 164, and in
 1629, 162; delivering over gaol of, 164; members
 for, in 1664, 171, 172; Lord Lieut. for the county
 of, 192; etymology of the names of places in, 242
 to 262; topography of, 246; ridings, 264, 266; Ro-
 man antiquities in, 264; Hornley's, 272; M'Kenzie
 and Dent's History, 268.
 Northumbria, 138, 139.
 Northumbrian Kingdom, 246.
 Norway, 206, 266, 266.
 Norwiche, 177.
 Norwood (Northwood), 120, 268.
 Notitia, 208, 209, 236, 236, 237; Imperii, 118, 226.
 Nottinghamshire, 178.
 Novegi, 139.
 Nuckton Burn, 120.
 Nynnyck, 161.
- O.
- Oakley, Wm., 178.
 Oberdorf, 224.
 Oberlischstadt, 226.
 Oellingen, 226.
 Oetling, 223, 226.
 Ogle, James, 143, 146, 146, 189; Lancelot, gent., 160,
 161; Henry, of Egghingham, knt. of the shire, 172;
 John, 171, 172.
 Oliver, Edward, 162.
 Opie, Castle of, 228.
 Ord (Aird), 260.
 Orguil, 139.
 Oric, 138.
 Orkuil, 139.
 Orkus, 138.
 Orme, Earl of Northumberland and Deira, 256.
 Ormr, 139.
 Ormus, 138, 139.
 Orrick, 138.
 Orrery, Earle of, 179.
 Ortelius, 230, 246.
 Osborn, Charles, 174.
 Osborne, T., 188.
 Ostia, Vedra, 237.
 Oswy, King of Bernicia, 124.
 Ottadini, territory of the, 208, 244; people, 248.
 Ottadinian, 246.
 Otterburn, 262.
 Ottercoppe (Altirtoppe), 160, 251, 262.
 Otway, Sir John, 176.
 Overacres, 262.
 Oxfoordshire, 178.
- P.
- Pallas, 311.
 Palmer, Sir Lewis, 177.
 Pannonia (Modern Hungary), 211.
 Parc, an enclosure, 244.
 Parke, 161.
 Paul, 244.
 Pawling, Andrew, 169.
 Pawson, Christopher, gent., 167.
 Pearson, Dr. George, his experiments on ancient wea-
 pons, 87; on celts, 91; opinion on the use of celts,
 98; George, 170.
 Peblis, 216.
 Peel-house, 243.
 Peepys, Sam., 177.
 Penderson, Ralph, 200.
 Penkerton, 126.
 Pennant, 290.
 Penpugh, 261.
 Percy Street, 123.
 Persians, doctrines of the, 308.
 Persica, rites called, 314.
 Petersbuch, village of, 226.
 Petersfield, 176.
 Peterson, Eric, 206, 207.
 Pettys, Sir John, 179.
 Peutingers table, 230; Conrade, 230.
 Peutingerean table, 223, 226.

- Pfahl, or the Stakes, 221.
 Pfahlheim, 224.
 Pfalbrunn, 228.
 Pfinz (ad Pontes), 226.
 Pharos, seal from the isle of, appx. 6.
 Philips, Robert, 175.
 Pickering, Sir Hen., 180.
 Picta, 245; lineage of, 243.
 Pitt, Geo., 175.
 Pittington Hall garth, 197.
 Plates, spears, 14; implements, 14, 15; Saxon inscription, 103; inscription to the Zodiacal Ceres, 107; plan of encampment at Wardley, 112; Saxon coin of Ecgrith, 124; ancient camp, 132; seal of the nunnery of St. Bartholomew, 135; arrow heads, 201; plan of Tynemouth, 216; map of the Devil's Wall in Bavaria, 219; Mithraic antiquities at Housesteads, 265; antiquities found at Plumpton, page 2 of list of donations.
 Plot in the North in 1663; papers relative to, 143 to 148.
 Plutarch, 280.
 Plymouth, 174a.
 Plympton, 174a.
 Pooock, Dr., drawing of a gold bracelet exhibited by, 7.
 Pomfrett, 181.
 Pons Ælii, 260.
 Pont, river, 260.
 Ponteland, 260.
 Ponton pike, 120.
 Poels, Sir Courtenay, 174a.
 Porphyry, 275, 278, 284, 287, 288, 289, 292, 298, 303, 311.
 Porteman, Sir Wm., 178.
 Porter, Sir R. K., 279.
 Portcrahan, 139.
 Portgate, 240.
 Portsmouth, 175.
 Pott, George, for felony, 157; George, alias White-toppin, 162; William, stealing oxen, 157, 162; John, 162; Mark, junr., 163.
 Pousin, Nicholas, 259.
 Pow-burn, 256.
 Prestick, 150, 165.
 Preston, 176.
 Priapus, found near Benwell, 131.
 Price, Thom., 175; Sir Harbut, bart., 181.
 Priddex, Sir Peter, 174a.
 Pringle, Andrew, 155.
 Priours' haven, 216, 217.
 Prisoners at assize in 1628 and 1629, 149; sentence upon in 1628, 154; kalender of, in the isle of High Castle in 1629, 156 to 161.
 Probus, Emperor, 220, 222, 229, 230.
 Procolitia, 204.
 Protector, writ of the Lord, 171.
 Proud, George, 148, 147; informatio' of, 147.
 Ptolemy, 222, 223, 237.
 Pyton, Sir Thom., 176.
- Q.
- Queensbrough, 176.
- R.
- Rac-Chester, 250.
 Raetia, 229.
 Raitenbuch, 224, 225, 226.
 Ramsey, Walter, stealing purse, 160, 163; the Chevalier, 281.
 Ramshawe, 153.
 Randall, Thom., 188.
 Rattenraw (Rattenrow), 253.
 Ravensworth Castle, 120.
 Raw, 246.
 Rawe, 167.
 Ray burn, 250.
 Rea, Will'm, 171, 172.
 Read, John, felony, 155, 165; Thomas, 164, 159.
 Reading (Reding or Vidang), 137, 255.
 Readong, 137, 140.
 Reasby, Sir John, 181.
 Ravenscleugh, 164.
 Rede dale, 243.
 Rede, river, 253, 254.
 Rede-swire, 253, 254.
 Rederiff in Kent, 150.
 Redesdale, 2, 261, 271.
 Redewater, 250, 251, 253, 262.
 Redong, 137.
 Redwin, 180.
 Reed, John, felony, 150, 161; Michael, 162.
 Reedsmonth, 160.
 Reedwater, 212.
 Reeves, Sir George, 179; Robt., 179.
 Regby, Ed., 176.
 Regensburg, 219, 223, 228, 228.
 Register (Rae Chester), 250.
 Reinesius, inscriptions in, 315.
 Reynold's Iter Britanniarum, 230.
 Rhetia, 230.
 Richard of Cirencester, 118, 239, 253; Itinerary of, 237, 240.
 Richardson, Thomas, 144; examination of, 145.
 Riding, etymon of, 254.
 Ridings, Northumberland, 254, 255; Yorkshire, 254.
 Ridley, Thomas, esq., 103; Outhbert, clerk, 151, 152, 157, 165, 168, 170; Alexander, gent., stealing a stot, 160; Walter, receiving stolen goods, 161, 163.
 Ridong (Redong or Readong), 137, 138, 255.
 Riddale, manor of, 1.
 Riechester (Bremenium), 241, 250.
 Riess, 221.
 Rig, 246.
 Ring, inscription on silver, 123; inscription on golden 140; Roman, found at Halton Chesters, 203; Gold found near Carlisle, 254; Roman ear-ring, 201.
 Rippon, 113, 114, 181.
 Rippon-burn, 120.
 Rialforth, Lawrence, 167.
 Risingham (Habitancum), 2, 212, 262.
 Rites, Mithraic, 309.
 Roberts, Robert, 174a.
 Robinson, John, 181; Sir John, 181.
 Robson, Nicholas, 151, 154; Mabel, 152; George, 152; Matthew, 152; Jane, felony, 152; Henry, felony, 152, 154; Jennetta, 155; Simon, 155, 165; Roger, stealing a mare, 157, 163; Andrew, 160; James, stealing a mare, 161, 162.
 Rochester (Bremenium), 176, 250, 254; urns found at, 271.
 Roman, stations, 2; at Benwell, 131; Procolitia, 204; Vindolana, 208; at Chirton, 235; Tynemouth, 232,

- 233, 237; near Glanton, 239; Habitancum, 262; of Housesteads, 263, 265; lime-stone found at, 270; Naval station, Caer Almond, 257; antiquities never found under cairns, 2; found on Roman Wall, 212; in Germany, 227, 229; Camden's account of, in Northumberland, 264; remains at Lancaster, 121; near Tynemouth, 231; Wall, 126, 264, 292, appx. 4; urn found near, 101; boundary, 224; line of, 129; through Germany, 219, 220; inscription at Walwick Chesters, 128; altar found at Binchester, 142; at Elsdon, 251; Burgh-upon-Sands, appx. 4; discovered at Brougham Castle, appx. 3; between Stanwix and Tarraby, appx. 4; ring found at Halton Chesters, 203; ear-ring, 201; milestone on Roman Wall, 208; forces, 209; service, 220; coins, 221; roads, 221; legions, 222; city, ruins of, 224; barrows, 225; fortress, 226; colony, 227; monuments, 227; prætorium erected by, 234; camp, 228, 240, 250; soldiers in Britain, 244; cities in Britain, names of, 244; old road (Gammels-path), 254; stones, 272; Mithraic, religion of, 283; dominions of Mithraic rites in, 305.
- Rosenberg, Gulbrand, 205.
 Roa, a promontory, 244.
 Rothbury, 160, 240.
 Rotherham, Robert, 162.
 Rottwell, 224.
 Roy, General, 251.
 Rukeying, 153.
 Ruken edge, 253.
 Rumney, Richard, 167.
 Runic characters, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141; inscription on ring, 254.
 Rutechester (Vindobala), 250.
 Rutland, 178.
 Ryal, chapelry of, 262.
 Rye, 181.
 Rymer, 214.
 Rygatt, 179.
 Ryse of Wailes, 215.
- S.
- Sackville, Ed., 179.
 Saint Cuthbert, burial of, 7; body of, 113.
 St. Sigfrid, interment of, 7.
 St. Benedict, burial of, 7.
 St. Easterwin, interment of, 7.
 St. Paul, Mrs., of Ewart, presents ancient sword blade, 11.
 St. Johnlee, parish of, 126.
 Saint Bartholomew, nunnery of, 136.
 St. Maws, 174a.
 St. Michael, 174a.
 Saint Niniasins, 215.
 Sainte Jarmans, 218.
 Saint tantones, 218.
 Saint Lorange, 218.
 St. Albans, Monks of, 256.
 St. Peters in Allendale, 262.
 St. Mary's Hospital, 264.
 St. Oswald's chapel, 271.
 St. Jerome, quotations from, 310, 319.
 Salkeild, John, 171, 172.
 Salvin, Rev. Hugh, 219.
 Sandes, Sam., 180; Sam., jun., 180.
 Sandwich, 181.
 Saram, Old, 180; New, 180.
 Sauter's Nick, 249.
 Sawyer, Sir Robt., 174.
 Saxons, 245, 251, 252; camps of, 239, 240; terms, 245, 246; names, 247; chronicle, 252.
 Saxton, 122.
 Scatte sand, 218.
 Scaliger, 207.
 Schafthow (Shaftho) Crag, 260.
 Schlopsberg, 225.
 Scotland, 219, 249, 251, 253, 254, 262; commonwealth of, 171; south of, 245, 247.
 Scott, John, 157.
 Scotts, the, 245; King of, 214.
 Seals, of Augustine monastery at Canterbury, 105; of the nunnery of St. Bartholomew, 135; bronze in the form of a cross, appx. 6.
 Seaton Delaval, 192.
 Sedgfield, 197.
 Seemar, Sir Edmund, 174a.
 Segedunum, 236.
 Selby, Sir John, kt., 151, 152, 156, 170; Edward, 152; Patrick, 157; Robert, 190.
 Semer, Henry, 174a; Edward, 180.
 Septemiaci, 228.
 Severus, Septimus, 219, 220; Alexander, 220; Wall of, 208, 209, 234, 266.
 Sewenshiels, 266, 268.
 Shackerly, Sir Jeoffery, 176.
 Shaftho, Robert, esq., sheriff of the county, 171, 172; William, esq., 171, 172; Robert, 171, 172.
 Shaftho Crag (Schafthow), 249, 260.
 Shank, 246.
 Shaw, Sir John, 174a.
 Shaw, etymon of the name, 246.
 Shawe, 151, 166.
 Sheelds, South, 200.
 Sheeles, North, 168.
 Shiel, etymon of the name, 246.
 Shields, South, 112, 232; station at, 234, 237.
 Shills, North, 218; South, 218.
 Shinkliff, 115.
 Shipley, Lyonell, 151, 157.
 Shipley, 168.
 Shotley Bridge, 145.
 Shropshire, 178.
 Sifano, 207.
 Sike, etymon of the name, 246.
 Sills-burn, 253.
 Simeon of Durham, 114.
 Simonburn, parish of, 254.
 Sineque Porta, 181.
 Sion, 9.
 Skene, Ph., Orkney, 142.
 Slanning, Sir Nicholas, 174a.
 Slayning, 179.
 Sledhoe, 251.
 Slingsby, Sir Thomas, 181.
 Smart, John, esq., of Trewitt, 239, 241, 257.
 Smelt, Richd., 193; Darcy, 194.
 Smith, Rev. John, 216; Dennys, 157; Mary, stealing money, 159; Maria, 162; Robert, 172; Sir William, 174; Sir James, 174a.
 Snape, 151.
 Snowdon, Thomas, 154.
 Snype house, 156.

- Snytter, 158.
 Solway Frith, 233.
 Sommerkeller, 227.
 Southampton, 175.
 Southgate, William, gent., 168.
 Southwarke, 179.
 Spain, 244; Katherine, Queen of, 214.
 Spany-moore, 195, 197.
 Sparhavek, the points of, 218.
 Sparke, Thomas, 160, 161; William, prisoner, 160, 163.
 Spearman, Robt., esq., 103; MSS., 143.
 Spears, heads of Roman, found at Stanhope, 13 to 16;
 ancient brass, 22 to 24.
 Speed's map, 253, 255, 261.
 Spees house, 161.
 Spencer, Robt., 177.
 Spraggon, Edward, 164, 163; Bartholemew, 163.
 Sprvtt, Raiphe, 169.
 Spry, Anthony, 174a.
 Staffordshire, 178.
 Stamford, 177.
 Stanhope, spearheads found at, 13 to 16.
 Stanton, 157.
 Stanton, Mr., 101; John, extracts of letter from, on
 bronze figures, presented by, 131.
 Stanwix, appx. 4.
 Stapely, Sir John, 179.
 Statius, 277.
 Stead, etymon of the name, 246.
 Steel, etymon of the name, 246.
 Stevenson, Alexander, 155; Nicholas, 157; Robert,
 159; James, 170.
 Stobswood, 253.
 Stockbridge, 175.
 Stockley, 144.
 Stonne shore, 218.
 Street, Thomas, 180.
 Stringer, Sir Thom., 176.
 Striveling, 215.
 Strother, John, esq., 152; Will., 189; Coll. Will., 192
 Strowd, John, 181.
 Stukely, Dr., extracts from, 239, 253, 265, 266, 272,
 273, 283, 290.
 Sudbury, 179.
 Suffolke, 179.
 Suhmil, 139.
 Sulz, the, 228.
 Summerhill, 212.
 Sumersettshire, 178.
 Sun, different names under which worshipped, 280;
 attributes of as a deity, 300.
 Sundayside, 157.
 Sunderland, 196, 198, 199; by the sea, 187, 198.
 Superstes, Q. Verius, 272.
 Surrey (Surry), 179, 252.
 Surtees' History of Durham, 199.
 Surtis, John, of Highfield, 147, 148.
 Sussex, 179, 252.
 Swaile, Sir Solomon, bt., 181.
 Swinburn Mill, 269.
 Swinburne, Little, 158.
 Swinburne, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Northumberland,
 154, 161, 164, 166, 168, 170; account of sheriffalty,
 149; sheriff's book of, 164.
 Swords, ancient, found in Scotland, 12.
- T.
- Tabutt, Sir John, 181.
 Tacitus, 248.
 Tadmor of Britain, 266.
 Tambach, 228.
 Tanfield Moor, 120.
 Tanfield, William de, prior of Durham, 115.
 Tanton, 175.
 Tantovy, 120.
 Tarraby, appx., 4.
 Tarsel Hall, 104.
 Tarsus, 244.
 Tartary, 202.
 Tate, George, felony, 155, 156, 163; Henry, 160;
 Francis, 169.
 Tawbut, Sir Gilbert, 174a.
 Taylor, Richard, 163.
 Tempest, John, 175, 190, 191, 197, 199; Sir Richard,
 174; Colonel John, esq., 187, 197.
 Testa de Nevil, 247.
 Teusing, 226.
 Tevidale, West, 215.
 Thanus, 138.
 Thaynus, 138.
 The Town, 176.
 Thegen, 138.
 Theilenhofen, 227.
 Theodosius, Second, 209.
 Thetford, 177.
 Thimbleby, Mr., 169.
 Thirlewall, William, gent., refuses to take oaths, 150,
 155, 156, 164.
 Thirske, 181.
 Thockrington, 269.
 Thompson, William, 157; Thomas, 163; Edward, 168.
 Thoresby's museum, 134.
 Thorkelin, Grimus Johnson, 139.
 Thorn, 246.
 Thorngraston, 258.
 Thornton, 240.
 Thracians, orgies of the, 309.
 Thriding, 254.
 Throgmorton, Sir Baynam, 175.
 Throp, 246.
 Throple, 260.
 Thropton, 260.
 Thyrlwall, 264.
 Till, 255, 256.
 Tille, 256.
 Tilmouth (Tynemouth) Abby, 218.
 Tinnmouth, ancient plan of, 217; towne of, 216, 217.
 Tin, 42; the ancient knowledge of, 25, 26.
 Tippal, 254.
 Tiverton, 174a.
 Todsburne, 170.
 Toknæ, 138.
 Toktnason, (Toktnoson, Toktoson), 138.
 Tomara, M. Russian ambassador, 201.
 Tom's Close, 161.
 Ton, 246.
 Totness, 174a.
 Towne, 177.
 Towns, ancient names of, 118.
 Towton, 122; battle of, 122; Moor, 122; silver ring
 found on, 122.
 Trajan, 208.

Trans Murum intras Valentium, 240.

Tre, a dwelling, 244.

Trelawny, Sir Jona, bt., 174.

Treuchting, 227.

Trevelyan, Walter Calverly, esq., of Wallington, 173; J., esq., of Wallington, 203, 204.

Trevor, Sir Thomas, judge of assize, 156, 162.

Trewett, Percivall, 163.

Trewitt, 239.

Trillany, John, 174a.

Trimontio, 241.

Trumble, John, horse stealing, 160, 161, 163; Edward, horse stealing, 161.

Truro, 174a.

Tubingen, 230.

Tueda, Flumine, 240.

Tufton, Thom., 180.

Tulip, Mr., 126.

Tumuli, 227.

Turks, arrows used by, 202.

Turner, Rev. Wm., 105, 123; presents silver ring, 122.

Tweed, fishings of, 192.

Tyne, 217, 263; course of, 218; mouth of, 233, 235, 237; South, 261; North, 262, 264; dale of, 243.

Tyndale, liberties of, 152.

Tynemouth, 218, 232, 233, 234; ancient plan and description of, 216 to 218; Castle, 231; altar and inscription at, 231 to 237; Roman station at, 234, 236; Roman fort at, 235.

U.

Ulm, 221, 230.

Ulmühl. river, 226.

Umfreville, Gilbert de, 251, 252.

University, Oxford, 178.

Untermüchelbach, Mill of, 224.

Urach, 224, 228.

Urns and sepulchral remains found at Rochester, 271; urns found at Elsdon, 251.

V.

Valentia, 223; Roman province of, 240.

Vaughan, Lord, 181.

Veidang, 137.

Velsar, Mark, 230.

Vetsnania, 226.

Via Vicinalia, 208.

Vidanga, 137.

Vidangs or Reading, 255.

Villiers, Edward, 198; Col., 199.

Vindobala (Rutchester), 250.

Vindolana (Little Chesters), 208.

Vindomora, 118.

Vinovia, 118, 240.

Vossius, 280.

W.

Wadowe, Richard, 160.

Wailles, Ryse of, 215.

Wakefield, 123.

Waldon, Sir Lyonell, 176.

Walker, James, felony, 162, 164, 165; Thomas, 174a.

Wall, the Roman, 118.

Wallingford, 174.

Wallington, 203, 204, 210.

Wallis, Mr., 209, 259, 272, 273; John, 155.

Wallis Walls, 144.

Wallsend, 234; station at, 235, 236.

Waltonne, 264.

Walwick Chesters (Cilurnum), 129, 208; inscription discovered at, 128.

Wankling, Thom., 180.

Wanlas, Cuthbert, 155.

Wanles, Jane, 162.

Wannies-beck (Wansbeck), 249.

Wansbeck, 250, 259.

Warburton, Bishop, 303.

Warden, Sir John, 179.

Wardenlaw beacon, 197.

Wardley, account of, 112 to 117; manor of, 116, 117; manor house, 115; ancient entrenchment at, 112.

Warham, 175.

Wark (Warke), 215, 246; Castle, 100; appx. 5.

Warkworth, 192.

Warring, Edwd., 173.

Warwick, Warwick-town, 180.

Warwick, Sir Philip, 177.

Wasey, Rev. George, 143.

Wasser, Alvingen, 228.

Watch Currack, 261.

Watling Street, 2, 239, 240, 251.

Waterford county, 7.

Watson, Margaret, 163; George, 190.

Waugh, William, prisoner, 149, 155, 164; Lancelot, prisoner, 169, 162.

Wearicshire, 146, 147, 148.

Webley, 175.

Weil, the river, 225, 227.

Weimersheim, 227.

Weissenberg, 226, 227, 229; Castle of, 227.

Weldon, 260.

Wells, 178.

Wells, Lord, 122.

Waltenberg, monastery of, 223.

Wenlock, 178.

Wentworth, Sir William, 181.

Werdelau, 113, 114.

Wernitz, 228.

West Ward, parish of, 132.

Westbury, 180.

West Chester, gaole att, 153.

Westgate, the, 264.

Westlow, 174a.

Westminster, 177, 214; court at, 167, 168; chapter house in, 213.

Westmoreland, 180, 249, 256, appx. 3.

Westmorland, Earl of, 122.

Westphalin, Robt., 175.

Wetaled, 150, 165.

Weyer, Margravate of, 224.

Weylin, Joseph, 188.

Weymouth, 174a.

Whannie Crag, 248.

Wharton, Thomas, 171.

Wheatly, Roger, 181.

Wheeler, Sir Charles, 174.

Whelpington, 250.

White, Mr., of Woodlands, 119.

White cross, 195, 197.

Whiteburn beacon, 197.

Whitnall, 174.

- Whitfield, 7.
 Whitlock, Sir James, judge of assize, 149, 153, 154.
 Whitsheela, 160.
 Whitside, 150, 156.
 Whittingham, 240; vale of, 239.
 Whittingham, Timothy, esq., 190.
 Whistonstall, 169.
 Wich, Sir Cyril, 174a.
 Wick, 246.
 Wid or Woodrington, 258.
 Widrington, Lord, 143, 188; Henry, 145, 146, 148, 189; Lodouici, gent., 168; Roger, esq., 169; William, 189.
 Wiggia, 176.
 Wigtonshire, 248.
 Wilde, George, 178.
 Wildsberg, 226.
 Wilfred, Archbishop of York, 124.
 Wilkie, John, of Hetton, burial place at Chilton, 99.
 Wilkinson, John, 145, 146, 147; the informatio' of, 146; George, 170.
 Willkwood, 161.
 Willbergstetten, 228.
 Williams, Sir Thom., 175.
 Williamson, Sir Jos., 177.
 Wilshire, 180.
 Wilson, Rev. Wm., rector of Wolsingham, exhibits articles of ancient brass, 13, 16; George, 148; Richard, 158; Thomas, 170.
 Wilton, 180.
 Wimpassing, 226.
 Winch, Sir Hum., kt., 174.
 Winchester, 175.
 Windam, Sir Ed., 178; Thomas, 178.
 Winnington, Sir F., kt., 174.
 Wirtemberg territory, 224.
 Wiseman, Sir Will., 175; Sir Richard, 175.
 Wolsingham, 13, 16, 199, 200.
 Wood, William, 179; Rev. James, letter from, 103, 104.
 Woodburn farm, 102.
 Woodcock, Sir Tho., 179.
 Woodhorn, 258.
 Woodhouse, 258.
 Woodhouses, 258.
 Woodhouse, Mr. Edward, of Scotchwood, notices respecting an arrow head by, 101, 102.
 Woodlands, 119.
 Woodman, Anthony, 150, 165.
 Woodstock, 178.
 Wooler, 11.
 Worcester, 180.
 Worcestershire, 180.
 Worden, Robt., Esq., 174.
 Worth, 246.
 Wreight, Robt., 177.
 Wreken Dyke, 112.
 Wright, Robert, 157.
 Wrinkles, John, gent., 159.
 Written Crag, 126.
 Württemberg, kingdom of, 228.
 Wye, John, 181.
 Wyllmoteswick, 261.
- Y.
- Yardopp, 160.
 Yarm, 177.
 Yeldert, John, 161; Robt, 162.
 Yellverton, Sir Henry, judge of assize, 149, 154, 156, 162.
 York, 167, 168, 188, county of, 122; Mithraic tablet at, 283; Wilfred Archbishop of, 124; Duke of, 196.
 Yorkshire, 181, 235; Deputy Lieut. of, 189; Ridings, 254.
- Z.
- Zandt, 224.
 Zoroaster, 276.

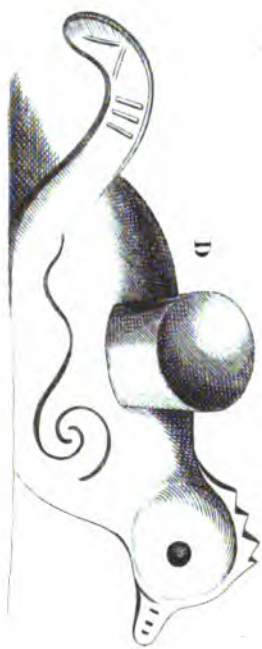
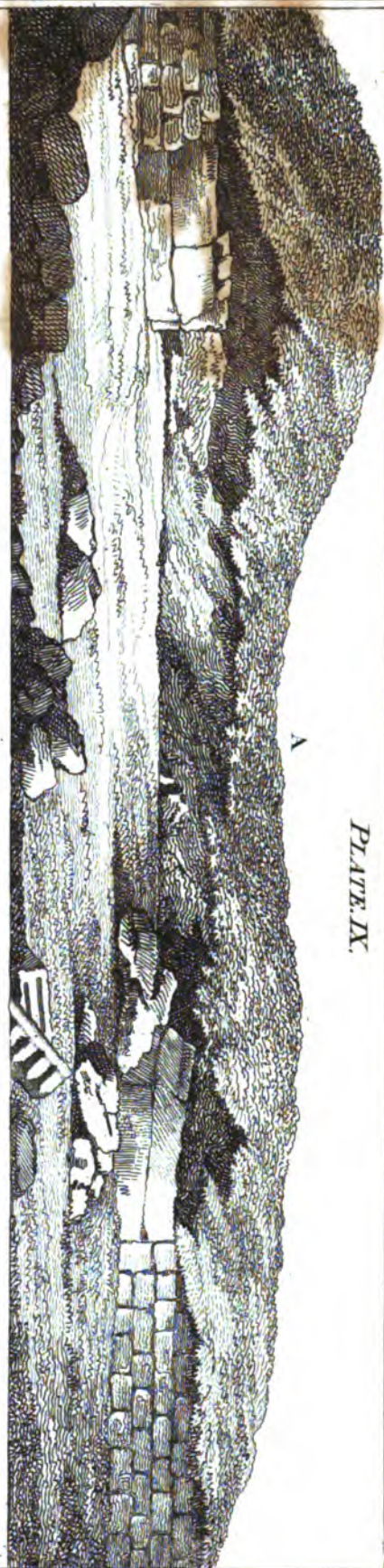
DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY,

SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN 1813.

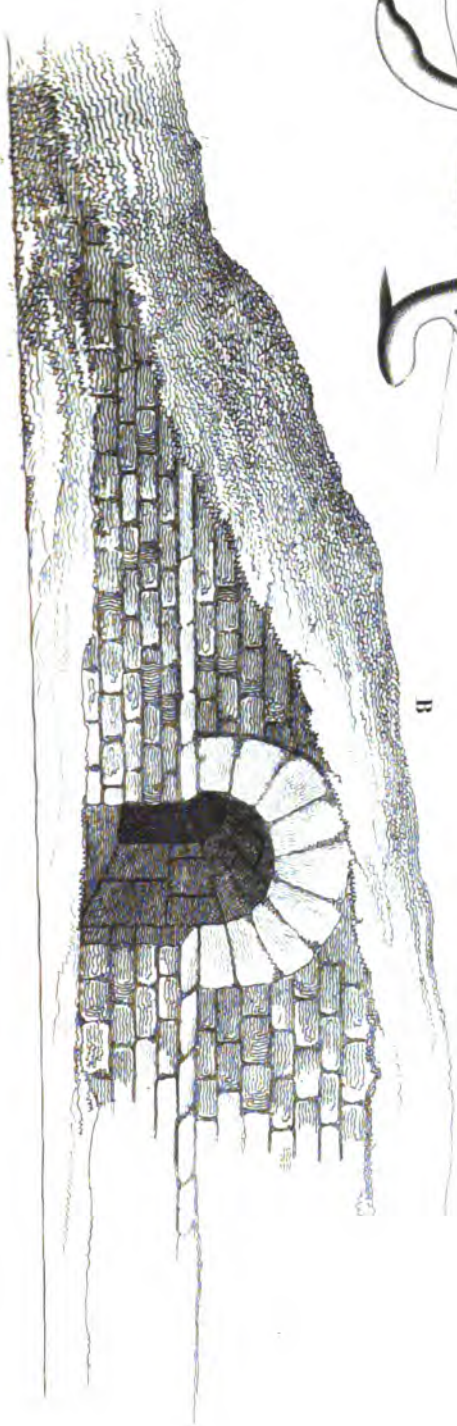
<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
1813. March 3.	Eleven Coins and Medals. Three Coins of English Silver; 51 of Roman Silver; 74 Roman third Brass; 14 Portuguese Silver; and 42 Portuguese Copper. Noble on the Mint and Coins of Durham; and Smellie's Historical Account of the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries. A Fragment of a Roman Millstone, found on Carlisle Sands.	R. Surtees, Esq. Mainsforth. Mr. John Adamson, Secretary. Mr. John Bell, Treasurer. Mr. G. A. Dickson.
April 7.	A Roman Altar to Belatucader, found at Brougham Castle, in Westmorland,—see Appendix, No. 1.; a small votive Altar, uninscribed, found at Voreda, or Old Penrith, in Cumberland; a centurial Stone inscribed > CLAUDI; a Roman Millstone and the Head of a Roman Statue of Stone, all found at Caervorran, on the Roman Wall; 2 Specimens of the Cement used in Roman Baths, found in Carlisle; and a Piece of Basalt, which, from its form, appears to have been Part of a Millstone. Eighty-eight Tradesmen's Tokens of the old issue, with a Manuscript Description of them; and 28 Impressions, and 5 Casts of ancient Seals, principally Scottish. Fifty Guineas. Nine Guineas.	Mr. G. A. Dickson. Thomas Davidson, Esq. His Grace the Duke of Northumberland. Sir C. M. L. Monck, Bart. V. P.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
June 2.	An ancient Urn, containing calcined Bones, and discovered in Lincolnshire; a centurial Stone, inscribed > OCTAVI SEBANI; a Roman Brick, inscribed TIPRINUS; and a Fragment of an Amphora, and a large Iron Ring, both supposed to be Roman. A circular British Earthen Vessel, 9½ Inches high, and 6 Inches in diameter, found near Corbridge,—see Plate VI. fig. G.; Fragments of Pottery, &c. A List of the Members of the Antiquarian Society of London. Thirty-three miscellaneous Coins, chiefly English.	A. M. L. de Cardonnell, Esq. of Cramlington. Joseph Forster, Esq. William Radclyffe, Esq. Rouge Croix. Mr. J. T. Brockett.
July 7.	Three Brick Flues of a Roman Bath; 8 Copper and 4 Roman Silver Coins; 4 Fragments of an Amphora, one of them inscribed D. O. M. S.; 2 Pieces of a Deer's Horn, &c. all found at Corstopitum, or Corchester, an ancient Roman Station, a little to the West of the Town of Corbridge. Addison's Dialogues upon the Usefulness of ancient Medals; and Bell's Rhymes of Northern Bards. New Agricultural and Commercial Magazine, Vol. I. and II. A Bottle of Roman Earthenware, found in digging a cellar in Carlisle; a Fragment of a Roman Amphora, found under the foundations of the Roman Wall at Stanwix; and another Fragment of Roman Earthenware, found at Benwell, in Northumberland. A Drawing of the Entrance of Voreda, as it appeared when cleared from Rubbish in 1812,—fig. A.; a Drawing of one of the Corners of the same place, with an Arch in the Foundations of its Wall,—fig. B.; and Drawings of two brazen Articles found in that station,—figs. C. and D.—see Plate IX.	Rev. S. Clarke, of Hexham. Mr. John Bell, Treasurer. Mr. John Clennell, Hornerton, Middlesex. Mr. G. A. Dickson.
August 4.	A Copy of the Royal Charter and the Statutes of the Society of Antiquaries, London; and four Plates of Roman Antiquities found near Capheaton. See Archaeologia, Vol. XV. p. 393. A Silver Ring, found at Towton Moor in 1770.	James Losh, Esq. V. P. Sir John E. Swinburne, Bart. President. Rev. Wm. Turner.
Sept. 1.	The Seal of the Society, designed by Mr. Howard of the Royal Academy, and engraved by Mr. Wyon, of the Royal Mint. A reversed Impression of the Inscription deposited in the Foundation Stone of the new County Courts of Northumberland.	Sir John E. Swinburne, Bart. President. Thomas Davidson, Esq.
Oct. 6.	A Copper Styca of Ecgrith, one of the Saxo-Northumbrian Kings,—see Plate VI. fig. H.	Rev. J. Hodgson, Sec.

PLATE IX.



B





<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
Nov. 3.	Three Fragments of Roman Pottery; an ancient Iron Key found under the Foundations of St. Alban's Church in Carlisle; another Key of Brass found at York; and a Bronze Cast, bearing this Inscription, TIT. VESP. C. with the Head of that Emperor.	Mr. G. A. Dickson, Newcastle.
Dec. 1.	A Roman Copper Vessel, and some Pieces of Copper, which had apparently belonged to it, two Fibulæ and a Ring, all found in a tumulus near Capheaton. Also a Penny of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1575, found in Hill-Head-Bank New-Plantation-Fence; and a Counter found at Harnham.	Sir John E. Swinburne, Bart. President.
	A Bottle of Black Earthenware from Pompeii; a small Etruscan Earthen Vessel from Herculaneum; an Etruscan Vase; a British Urn, with part of the calcined Bones it contained, found under a large Cairn, at Croglin, in Cumberland,—see Plate VI. fig. 1. The Pedestal of a Pillar, converted into a Mortar, found at Caervorran; and Copies of two Roman Inscriptions,—see Appendix, No. II.	Mr. G. A. Dickson, Newcastle.
	A curious Mortar found near Chester-le-Street.	Isaac Cookson, Esq. of Whithill, Durham.
	A Copy of an Inscription on a Rock on Fallowfield-Fell, in Northumberland,—see Plate VI. fig. E.; and a Copy of an Inscription found at Walwick Chesters,—see Plate VI. fig. F.	Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary.
1814. Jan. 5.	An Engraving, framed, of the Herald's College, London, in 1768.	Thos. Davidson, Esq.
	A Celtic Hammer of very hard granular stone, found near Kirkoswald Castle, in Cumberland; a silver Penny of Henry the Second, found with a great quantity of the same kind of coin, at Cutherston, near Bowes, in Yorkshire, about the year 1782; a Silver Penny of Edward the First, coined at London; a Silver Penny of Edward the Second, coined at Canterbury; a Swedish Copper Dollar, of Charles the Twelfth, dated 1716.	Mrs. Atkinson, Temple- Sowerby.
	Six Copper Stycas of the Northumbrian Kings, Eanred and Ethelred.*	M. Atkinson, Esq. Carr- hill, Durham.
Feb. 2.	Eighty-seven Copper Coins of various Nations; an Etching of two Roman Brass Vessels, with bas relief Handles.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
	Potter's Greek Antiquities.	Mr. Thomas Hodgson.
	Forty Pounds.	Ed. Hussey Delaval, Esq.

*. They were found a few years since, near Kirkoswald, in Cumberland, by the blowing down of a large tree, the roots of which had taken hold of, and brought up with them, a large earthen vessel, full of similar Coins.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
March 2.	Ten Roman Silver Coins, and 8 English Silver Coins. Eighteen English Copper Coins. Chamberlayne's Magnæ Britannæ Notitia. Two English Tokens.	Mr. N. Naters. Mr. J. Bell, Treasurer. Mr. G. A. Dickson. John Brumell, Esq.
April 6.	The "Testa de Nevill."	Sir C. M. L. Monck, Bart. V. P.
May 4.	A Silver Coin of Eugenius. A Bronze Ax or Celt. Twenty-four English Copper Local Tokens. Four Roman Sepulchral Urns, and Fragments of several others, found in Auckland Park, and near the Roman Station at Binchester.	Mr. J. T. Brockett. Mr. James Hawthorn. Mr. J. Bell, Treasurer.
June 1.	A Roman Lamp of red Earthenware; a Fragment of another, with the figure of Jupiter and the Eagle on its top; and 12 remarkably small Copper Coins, all found in removing a mound of earth in the Estate of J. J. Robinson, Esq. adjoining to Old Carlisle, in April, 1814. Also Kennett's Roman Antiquities, 8vo. 1769. The six first Parts of "The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland." The upper and lower Stones of an ancient Quern, or Hand Mill, found on Gateshead Fell. This donation was accompanied by a Drawing of the Lines of a certain Enclosure or Camp, in which these and several fragments of mill-stones were found. The place was situated in a parcel of ground allotted to Mr. Henderson, at the time of the enclosure of Gateshead Fell. The west side of the entrenched ground measured 220 yards, the north end 66 yards, and the breadth of the area from east to west at the south end, and from the N. E. to the S. E. corner 33 yards. An oblong entrenched area, 30 yards long and 14 broad, was also formed on the east side of it; at its south end there was a circular enclosure, 14 feet in diameter, formed with stones, each 3 feet long, and set on edge; and at 21 yards from the west side an entrenched line led to a spring opposite the north west corner.	Anonymous. Mr. G. A. Dickson. Walter Scott, Esq. of Edinburgh.
July 6.	A small Vessel of Earthenware, in which several Copper Stycas of Ecgrith, King of Northumberland, were found in the Chapel Yard of Heworth, Durham; and a Plan of an ancient Entrenchment at Wardley, in the Parish of Jarrow, Durham,—see Plate V. A Stone Celt, found on Throckley Fell, Northumberland; a Pipe of red Earthenware, for conveying	Mr. Joseph Henderson, Gateshead Fell. Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Water; and a Piece of a Stag's Horn, found in a Roman Vault in the Station at Chesters, on the Roman Wall.	Joseph Forster, Esq.
	Drawings of two Bronze Swords, lately found at Ewart Park, Northumberland.	M. Culley, Esq.
	An ancient British Urn, found in ploughing a Field near Glanton, Northumberland; and a Drawing of an Urn found at Black Heddon, in the same County.*	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
	Two Durham Tradesmen's Tokens of the old issue.	John Brumell, Esq.
	Fourteen Copper Provincial Tokens.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
	A Drawing of the old Tower formerly on Tyne Bridge, by Miss Mary Ann Hornby; an Impression of 9 ancient Seals, in the possession of R. Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth, Durham.	Rev. H. Salvin.
Aug. 3.	An ancient Buckle or Brooch, found by Mr. G. A. Dickson, in the Castle at Carlisle, and bearing a worn Inscription, in Saxo-Gothic Characters.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
	Four Coins of Queens Anne and Mary, &c.	N. Naters, Esq. Newcastle.
	A Fragment of an ancient Bronze Shield, of fine Workmanship, found in a Peat Moss, at Broomey-Holme, near Chester-le-Street, by the late Matthew Forster, Esq. of that place.	Mr. T. Watson, Silver-Smith, Newcastle.
	An Edinburgh provincial Coin.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
Sept. 7.	Some Pieces of Roman Tile, Brick, and Cement, found in levelling the North Bank of the Tyne, near Wall's End, for the foundations of the Staith of Fawdon Colliery.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
Dec. 7.	Two Specimens of the Cement used in a Roman Bath at Wall's End; and a Drawing of a Medal of Queen Mary the Second.	The Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary.
	Three hundred Foreign and English Copper Coins.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
	An Iron Shirt of Chain Mail.	Sir Robert Ker Porter, Knt.
	A Ferrara Sword,—see Appendix, No. III.	M. Culley, Esq. Akeld, Northumberland.
	A Harwich Token of 1653.	R. Spearman, Esq. Eachwick, Northumberland.
	Two provincial Coins.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
	A Roman Fibula, found near the West Wall of Carlisle.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.

* It was found in a little tumulus, called the Lamb-law; and in a cell formed by six flat stones, which also inclosed a human skull; at present it is in the possession of Mr George Hepple, of Bygate. Its diameter at the top is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, middle $5\frac{1}{2}$, bottom 3, and its height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	An ancient Bronze Sword, found in Ewart Park,—see Plate IV. No. 3. and page 11.	Mrs. St. Paul, Ewart Park, Northumberland.
	A Saxon Inscription, found near Falstone, in Northumberland,—see Plate III. and page 103.	Rev. James Wood, Falstone.
1815. Jan. 4.	Seyer, on the Charters of Bristol.	Rev. John Collinson, Rector of Gateshead.
	A large Silver Fibula, found in the Tyne, near Benwell.	Mr. G. A. Dickson, Newcastle.
	An Urn found in a Tomb near Denton, in Northumberland; and an Arrow Head of Flint, found near Satley, in the County of Durham,—see page 101.	Mr. Woodhouse, of Scotchwood.
March 1.	An Impression of the Seal of the last Treasurer of the Augustine Monastery at Canterbury,—see page 105.	James Gomme, Esq. High Wycombe, Bucks.
	A Medallion of Hercules; a Shilling of James I.; and a Farthing of King William.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
	An Iron Helmet, &c.	Rev. N. Hollingsworth.
	Drawings of several Roman Antiquities, discovered at Bremenium and Habitancum, in Redesdale, Northumberland, and at present at Campville, in the same County; a small Urn, found in a larger one at Kirkhill, west of Hepple, in the Parish of Rothbury, Northumberland: they were in a cell, formed by four upright stones, and covered with fine sand from the Coquet.	John Smart, Esq. of Trewitt-house, Northumberland.
	Two Quern Stones, found at Abbey-Faws, on Thropton Common, Northumberland.	The Rev. Robert Stout, Thropton.
April 5.	Two small Bronze Figures, one of them a Female, the other a Priapus, both found at Benwell, on the Roman Wall,—see page 131.	Mr. John Stanton, Benwell.
	One hundred and forty-three Miscellaneous Coins.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
May 3.	A Mortar, found near Wall's End in digging the foundations of Fawdon Staith.	Mr. John Straker.
	A Medal of "Ercole III. Duca di Modena, di Reggio, e della Mirandola:" and an Engraving of a curious Gold Ring.	M. I. C. Ginnasi.
June 7.	A Set of Gold Beads found under a Cairn on Chesterhope Common, Northumberland.	His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.
	Two Inscriptions,—see Appendix, No. IV. A Bronze Stamp or Seal in the form of a cross and bearing Greek characters,—see Appendix, No. V.	Mr. G. A. Dickson, Newcastle.
	A Medal of the Duke of Cumberland.	Miss Hornby, Newcastle.
	A List of Buonaparte's Medals.	Mr. Reed, Newcastle.

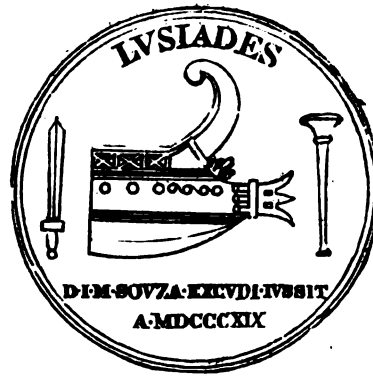
<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
July 5.	An Inscription on Heworth Bell,—see Plate V. and Appendix, No. 6.	
Oct. 4.	A Roman Vase, found in an entrenchment adjoining the old citadel of Carlisle.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
	Four miscellaneous Coins.	Rev. Thomas Stout, Thropton.
	Fifteen Roman Copper Coins.	M. J. J. Robinson, of Syke, Cumberland.
	A Plan of a Roman Aqueduct in the parish of Lanchester, Durham,—see Plate V.	W. T. Greenwell, Esq. Ford, Durham.
	Several Plates of Anglo Saxon Coins, and Mr. North's two Plates of Henry III. Coins.	The Rev. R. Ruding, Maldon.
	A Series of Newcastle Silver Tokens, and a Roman Lamp.	Mr. John Adamson, Secretary.
Nov. 1.	Two miscellaneous Coins.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
	Fenn's Account of the London Society of Antiquaries.	Mr. Thomas Bell.
	An ancient Steel Spur, found several years since in a vault in the church of Jarrow, Durham.	Mr. Joseph Willis, Gateshead.
Dec. 6.	Fifty-one English and Foreign Silver Coins.	Hen. Cramlington, Esq. Mayor of Newcastle.
	A Ferrara Broad Sword, and an Arrow Head of Flint.	Mr. G. A. Dickson.
1816. Jan. 3.	One hundred and twenty Coins; a Roman Tile, inscribed L.E.G. V. VI.; some Specimens of blue and brown Glass, from the Roman Station near Corbridge; several Fragments of figured Earthenware from the same place; 2 Spear Heads found near Otterburne; and a variety of other Antiquities.	D. W. Smith, Esq. Alnwick.
	Four Silver Coins.	H. Cramlington, Esq. Newcastle.
Feb. 7.	"A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen who have compounded for their Estates:" London, 1655.	Thomas Davidson, Esq. Newcastle.
	Gent's History of Kingston upon Hull and Rippon, 8vo.	The Rev. Wm. Turner, Newcastle.
	Circumstantial Details of the Battle of Waterloo, 8vo.	John Waldie, Esq. Newcastle.
	A small Roman Earthen Vessel dug out of the Station at Wall's End.	John Buddle, Esq. Wall's End.
	An Account of the Great Flood in the River Tyne.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer.
	A Drawing of Pandon Gate, formerly standing in the town of Newcastle upon Tyne.	Mr. Wilson.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
March 6.	Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vols. II. and III. the <i>Registrum Magni Sigilli</i> of Scotland; Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe of Scotland. A small Greek Bronze Coin; and a very old Claymore.	The Rev. J. Hodgman, Secretary. Mr. G. A. Dickson, Newcastle.
April 3.	A Grant of Robert Bruce. An illuminated Pedigree of the Derwent Water Family.	Dr. Somerville. William Radclyffe, Esq. Rouge Croix.
May 1.	Speed's Prospect of the World, 1627. De Anglorum Gentis Origine Dissertatio; Authore Roberto Sheringhamo, Cantab. 1670, 8vo. Cumberland's "Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ, &c." London, 1724, 8vo. Thompson's Translation of Jeffrey of Monmouth, London, 1718, 8vo. Wyndham's Wiltshire, extracted from Domesday Book, Salisbury, 1788, 8vo. Vertot's critical History of the Establishment of the Bretons among the Gauls, &c. London, 1722, 2 vols. 8vo. Sir John Maundeville's Voiage and Travaile, London, 1725, 8vo.	Thomas Davidson, Esq. R. Spearman, Esq. Eachwick.
July 3.	The History of Hartlepool, by Sir C. Sharpe, Knight. A fine Tablet, bearing an Inscription to Ceres, in verse, discovered at Caervorran,—see Plate IV. fig. 1. and page 107; also from the same place, two centurial Stones; a small Roman Altar; several Specimens of Roman Millstones; and certain rude Figures of Roman Soldiers carved in stone. A Medal and a Roman Silver Coin.	The Author. Lieut.-Colonel Coulson, Blenkinsopp Castle, Northumberland. Mr. John Walker, Wall's End.
Oct. 2.	A Chart of English Silver Coins from 1066. Monumenta Romani Imperii in Scotia. A framed Engraving of the East Window of the Cathedral Church of York. A Drawing of a Copper Vessel found near the Roman Wall.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer. M. Atkinson, Esq. Carr-hill, Durham. R. S. Hawks, Esq. Mr. John Adamson, Secretary.
Nov. 6.	A Book, containing numerous Fac-Similes of local Tokens of the last issue. An Impression on Wax of an ancient Ring found in the ruins of Pharos. A Proof of an Engraving of the Seal of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, in Newcastle; also 200 Copies for the first Volume of the Society's Transactions,—see Plate VIII.	Mr. John Bell, Treasurer. D. W. Smith, Esq. Alnwick. Mr. J. T. Brockett.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
1817.		
January 1.	"Synopsis of the British Museum." 8vo. London, 1816.	Mr. John Bell.
Feb. 5.	"Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert," a new Edition, 1816. By Mr. Taylor, of Sunderland.	Mr. Taylor, Sunderland.
March 5.	Account of the Hunterian Museum, by Captain J. Laskey, 8vo. Glasgow, 1813.	Mr. William Clarke.
April 2.	Four Volumes of the Public Records of the Kingdom of Scotland.	Rev. J. Hodgson.
	A Vindication of the Apamean Medal, and of the Inscription NQE. London, 4to. 1775.	Mr. Thomas Bell.
May 7.	"Cheviot," a Poetical Fragment, with Notes, &c. by Mr. Adamson, Newcastle. 8vo. 1817.	Mr. J. Adamson, Sec.
August 6.	An Arrow Head, with an Account of a Number of the same Description found at Mount Caucasus,—see Plate IX. and Paper.	Mrs. Beilby, Newcastle.
	An Ornament found in the Roman Station near Corbridge.	Mrs. Beilby.
	Various Articles of Roman Fabric obtained from the Roman Station of Carvoran.	Messrs. Hodgson and Adamson, Secretaries.
October 1.	"Speculations on a Literary Society."	Mr. John Straker, Newcastle.
	Two copies of the 24th Report of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.	The Lit. & Phil. Society of Newcastle.
	A Silver Penny of Edward I.; a small Brass Coin of Scotland.	Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bt.
	A small Turkish Gold Coin.	Mr. Naters.
	A Drawing of a Roman Ring in the possession of Lady Blackett, of Matfen, Northumberland,—see Description, p. 203. Also a Drawing of a Fragment of a Statue of Neptune, now at Wallington.	J. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington, Northumberland.
Nov. 5.	"The Marriage of the Coquet and Alwyne," a Poem, edited by Mr. Adamson, Newcastle. 8vo. 1817.	Mr. Adamson, Secretary.
	"The Life of Henry the Third," a Re-print, edited by Mr. Brockett, Newcastle. 1817.	Mr. J. T. Brockett.
Dec. 3.	An Impression of a Seal found at Marathon by Sir Wm. Gell.	Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bt. President.
1818.		
January 7.	"Bartlett on the Episcopal Coins of Durham, and the Monastic Coins of Reading," a new Edition, with Notes and Illustrations, by Mr J. T. Brockett. Newcastle, 8vo. 1817.	Mr. J. T. Brockett.
June 3.	"Vallum Romanum;" or Account of the Roman Wall, by John Warburton, Esquire. London, 4to. 1753.	Mr. W. L. Rogers, London.
	Drawing of Arrow Heads, and an Account thereof in	

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	Illustration of the Drawing previously presented by Mrs. Beilby,—see Plate IX. page 201.	Miss Carlyle, Carlisle.
	The Drawing of a Ring found on King Moor, made by Richard Cust, Esq.,—see page 136.	Miss Carlyle.
	Account of the Books printed at the press of George Allan, Esq. F.S.A. at the Grange, near Darlington. 8vo. Newcastle, 1818.	Mr. J. T. Brockett, Newcastle.
July 1.	Drawing of an Altar found in 1817, at Walton House, near Brampton.	Miss Carlyle.
	An Impression in tin foil of the Inscription on the Ring found on King Moor.	J. Losh, Esq. Vice-President.
	Funeral Sermon on Margaret, Countess of Richmond, &c. ; 8vo. London, 1708. Reflections upon Learning ; 8vo. London, 1727.	Rev. I. Cook, Newton, Northumberland.
1819.	Stat. and Ordin. Eccles. Cath. Dunelm, in MS. folio.	
June 2.	Spearman's Inquiry into the County Palatine of Durham ; 4to. 1729, interleaved. Rudd's Euclid's Elements, with John Dee's Mathematical Preface, 4to. 1651. Lithgow's 19 Years' Travels (1609, &c.), 10th edition ; 8vo. 1692. Battle of Flodden Field, edited by Lambe ; 12mo. 1774. Patin's Travels ; 12mo. 1679. Carleton's Life of Bernard Gilpin, 4th edition ; 12mo. 1634. Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus ; 8vo. 1705. Boscobel, Part I. 1680 ; Part II. 1681, 8vo.	Wm. Taylor, Esq. Hendon Grange, Sunderland.
	Collection of Papers which appeared during the Contest for the County of Northumberland ; 1774. Wilcock's Life of the Abbots of Wearmouth ; 8vo. Sunderland, 1818. Moule's Catalogue ; 1818.	Mr N. J. Philipson, Newcastle.
August 4.	Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ, or the Works of that great and glorious Martyr King Charles I. 24mo. Hague, 1657.	Wm. Taylor, Esq. Hendon Grange.
	Drawing of a Sepulchral Stone found at Binchester, —see page 142.	Ph. Orkney Skene, Esq.
Dec. 1.	An account of the Expense of Sir Thomas Swinburne, Knt. as High Sheriff of Northumberland, in 1628 and 1629.	Rev. J. Hodgson, Secretary.
	An old Sword which had been used at the Battle of Naseby, by an ancestor of Mr. Geo. Sumner, of Desborough, County of Northampton.	Thomas Davidson, Esq.
1820.	Coins: Half-penny, Elizabeth ; Penny, James I. ;	
January 5.	Half-penny, James I. ; Three-pence, Charles I. ; Penny, Charles I. ; Sixpence, Edward VI. ; Lord Liverpool's Shilling ; Half-penny, Edward ; Four Pennies, Edward ; Four-pence and Three-pence, George, III. ; Barnard Castle Token.	Mr. Brockett.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
Feb. 2.	A Medal of Luis de Camoens, struck, for private distribution only, in Paris, at the expense of Don Joze Maria de Souza. <i>The Society has availed itself of Mr. Adamson's permission to insert an impression of a Wood Cut here of this Medal; as also that of another Medal, in honour of the said Poet, which were made for that Gentleman's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Luis de Camoens."</i>	Don Joze Maria de Souza, Paris.



June 7.	"Robert the Devyll, a metrical Romance, from an ancient illuminated Manuscript. Lond. 1798, 8vo. Various Antiquities found upon the property of Gul-	Mr. N. J. Philipson.
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<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
	brand Rosenberg, Farmer, in the County of Laurvig, in Norway,—see Description, page 205.	Mr. Peterson, of Norway.
Aug. 2.	Copy of a Return of Three Knights of the Shire for the County of Northumberland, in the year 1654,—see page 171.	Mr. John Bell.
Sept. 6.	Seals: Two Impressions of Old Seals of Newcastle upon Tyne; two of Durham; and four others. Sermon, preached at the Duke of Devonshire's Funeral, with Memoirs of the House of Cavendish, by Dr. Kennet, 1708, 8vo.	Mr. Adamson, Secretary. Rev. Wm. Turner, Newcastle.
Oct. 4.	The Life of Rev. and Learned Mr. John Sage, 8vo. The History of the Troubles of Hungrie, 4to. The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland, by Sir George Mackenzie, 8vo. London, 1686. View of London, 12mo. Copy of a Petition from the Lord Mayor and Merchants of the City of York, the Mayor and Merchants of Kingston upon Hull, and the Wardens and Brethren of the Trinity House there against Sir Wm. Waller, complaining of his demands for prize of Wines and his bringing a vexatious Suit. MS.	Mr. R. Thompson, Newcastle. Mr. John Bell.
1821. Jan. 3.	Coins: A French Copper Coin, under Carnot, coined at Antwerp; a Copper Medal, Ludovicus XIII. Rex Christianissimus; 6 Roman, first Brass; 3 Roman, third Brass; 2 Roman, second Brass; 9 Foreign Copper; 1 Barbadoes Penny, 1788; 2 Old English, Copper; 20 Old Tradesmen's Tokens. A Brass Lar, found at Peersbridge. Two Check or Nick Sticks, as formerly issued by the Exchequer on passing the Sheriff's Accounts.	R. Surtees, Esq. Mainsforth R. Surtees, Esq. Mr J. Bell.
Feb. 7.	An Ancient Ornament of Jet, found in a Stone Chest, in a field called Cruises, the property of Mr. Ridley, of Park End. Coins: 5 Local; Collegiū Experimentale sive Curiosum in quo Primaria hujus Seculi inventa, &c. Norimbergæ, 1676.	Rev. A. Hedley, Newcastle. Mr. John Bell.
April 4.	The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Litchfield, by John Britton, F. S. A. 4to. London, 1820. Garbutt's History of Sunderland. Copy of a Letter of Wm. Lord Dacre, with Observations,—see page 214.	Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart. President. The Author. John Caley, Esq. London.
May 2.	Four Ancient Spurs and a Pair of Ancient Brass Stirrups.	Anonymous.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donations.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
Sept. 5.	7 Ancient British Coins, found at Jersey.	J. Smart, Esq. Trewitt, Northumberland.
Nov. 7.	Copy of the Poll at the Election of Members for Newcastle, 1820.	Mr. Charnley.
Dec. 5.	An Historical Description of the Monastery and Chapel Royal of Holyrood-house, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1819.	Mr. Wood, Killingworth, Northumberland.
	A Map of the Country round Scarborough, by Robert Knox.	Rev. Wm. Turner.
1822. Feb. 6.	A Roman Figure found at Fulwell, near Sunderland, and also a Celt found in Ireland. Dr. Clanney accompanied this Donation with the following account:—"In the month of November, 1820, immediately above the excavation of the Limestone at Carley Hill Quarry, which is situated about a quarter of a mile West of Fulwell Hill, in the parish of Monkwearmouth, and about 200 yards West of Hill House, the residence of Mr. Wake, sen., whilst removing the surplus soil, Thomas Dobson, quarryman, found the Roman Figure which appears to be a Lar. There were found at the same time, several portions of Human Bones and a quantity of common rock Limpet Shells imbedded in limestone rubbish and surface soil. It is worthy of remark that several excavations have been discovered in the solid limestone rock, at Carley Hill, (similar to stone coffins) containing human Bodies.	Dr. Clanney, Sunderland, Durham.
	Tables of Dates for the Use of Genealogists and Antiquaries, printed by T. Moule.	Mr Thomas Bell, Newcastle.
March 6.	Vols. V. VI. VII. and VIII. of the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, folio.	Rev. J. Hodgson, Secretary.
	Select Views of London and its Environs, 2 vols. in 1, quarto. London, 1804.	Isaac Cookson, Esquire, Newcastle.

A
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ACTA ACADEMIARUM ET SOCIETATUM.

THE NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Statutes of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. Instituted January, 1813. Fol.

Chorographia; or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1649; by William Gray—Re-printed by the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. Fol. Newcastle, 1813.

First Annual Report of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. Quarto. Newcastle, 1814.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

A Copy of the Royal Charter and Statutes of the Society of Antiquaries, of London. Printed by order of the Society. 4to. London, 1800.—*Presented by Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart.*

Tables of English Silver, and Gold Coins: First published by Martin Folkes, and now re-printed, with Plates and Explanations, by the Society. 4to. 1763.

ACTA ACADEMIARUM ET SOCIETATUM.

An Account of a Copper Table; containing two Inscriptions, in the Greek and Latin Tongues; discovered in the year 1732, near Heraclea, in the Bay of Tarentum in Magna Græcia: By Philip Carteret Webb. 4to. London, 1760.

Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts, relating to Antiquity; with Plates, 17 vols. and Part I. of Vol. XVIII. 4to. London, 1779—1815:

Three Chronological Tables; exhibiting a State of the Society, from its first rise in 1572 to 1784; by Sir John Fenn, Knt. 4to. London, 1784.—*Presented by Mr. Thomas Bell.*

Liber Quitidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi vice-simo octavo, A. D. 1299 et 1300. 4to. Londini, 1787.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF EDINBURGH.

Rules of the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries. 4to.—*Presented by Mr. John Bell.*

GLASGOW ACADEMY.

Monumenta Romani Imperii, in Scotia, maxime vero inter Vestigia Valli, Auspiciis Antonini Pii Imperatoris, a Fortha usque ad Glottam perducti, reperta et in Academia Glasguensi adservata, Iconibus expressa. 4to.—*Presented by Matthew Atkinson, Esq.*

PERTH LITERARY SOCIETY.

Preliminary Discourse and Plan, delivered at the Institution of a Literary Society at Perth, December 16, 1784. 4to. Perth, 1785.—*Presented by the Rev. W. Turner.*

ADDISON, JOSEPH.

Dialogues on the Usefulness of Ancient Medals, especially in Relation to the Latin and Greek Poets. 8vo. Glasgow, 1751.—*Presented by Mr. John Bell.*

AINSWORTH, ROBERT.

Dictionary, English and Latin. A new Edition, with great Additions and Amendments: By Thomas Morell, S. T. P. 4to. London, 1808.

ANTIQUITIES.

The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland, comprising Specimens of the Architecture, Sculpture, and other Vestiges of former Ages, to the Union of the two Crowns. 4to. large paper. London, 1812. All the Parts yet published.—*Presented by Walter Scott, Esq.*

The Antiquities of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, v. Grose.

The Military Antiquities respecting the English Army, v. Grose.

ASHBY, GEORGE, B. D.

A Dissertation on a singular Coin of Nerva, in a Letter to Matthew Duane, Esq.
4to. London, 1774.

AYLOFFE, JOSEPH, Bart. V. P. A. S. and F. R. S.

Calendars of the Ancient Charters, and of the Welch and Scottish Rolls, now
remaining in the Tower of London: also, Calendars of all the Treaties of Peace
between England and Scotland, in the Chapter House at Westminster, &c. &c.
4to. London, 1774.

BANDURI, ANSELM.

Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Palæologos Augustos, acces-
sit Bibliotheca Nummaria, sive Auctorum qui de Re Nummariâ scripserunt. 2 vols.
Fol. Lut. Paris, 1518.

BELL, JOHN.

An Account of the great Flood in the River Tyne, on Saturday Morning, Dec. 30,
1815. To which is added, a Narrative of the great Flood in the Rivers Tyne,
Tease and Wear, &c. on the 16th and 17th Nov. 1771; with an Account of the
Eruption of Solway Moss. Newcastle, 1816. 8vo.—*Presented by Mr. John
Bell.*

Rhymes of Northern Bards, being a curious Collection of old and new Songs and
Poems, peculiar to the Counties of Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, and
Durham. Edited by John Bell, Jun. Newcastle upon Tyne. 8vo. 1812.—
Presented by Mr. John Bell.

BRAND, THE REV. JOHN, M. A.

The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon
Tyne, including an Account of the Coal Trade of that place. 2 vols. 4to.
London, 1789.

BRISTOL-CHARTERS, v. SEYERS.

BRITANNIA ROMANA, v. HORSLEY.

CATALOGUE.

Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that have compounded for their
Estates. 8vo. London, 1655.—*Presented by Mr. Thomas Davidson.*

CHAMBERLAYNE, JOHN, Esq.

Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia; or the present State of Great Britain, with divers Remarks
upon the antient State thereof. 8vo. London, 1727.—*Presented by Mr. Dickson.*

CLENNELL, JOHN, v. MAGAZINE.

COMBE, CAROLUS, M. D.

Nummorum veterum Populorum et Urbium, qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur,
Descriptio, Figuris illustrata. 4to. Londini, 1782.

COMBE, TAYLOR, Esq.

A Description of the Collection of ancient Terracottas in the British Museum, with Engravings. 4to. London, 1810.

A Description of the Collection of ancient Marbles in the British Museum, with Engravings. Part I. and II. 4to. London, 1812—15.

Veterum Populorum et Regum Nummi, qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. 4to. Londini, 1814.

CUMBERLAND, RIGHT REV. R., D. D.

Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ; or Attempts for discovering the Times of the first Planting of Nations; in several Tracts. 8vo. London, 1724.—*Presented by R. Spearman, Esq.*

DARELL, REV. WM. V. GROSE.

DOVER CASTLE, V. GROSE.

DUTENS, LOUIS.

Explication de quelques Medailles de Peuples, de Villes, et de Rois, Grecques et Pheniciennes, avec une Paléographie numismatique. 4to. Londres, 1776. 2d edition.

ENGRAVINGS, DRAWINGS, &c.

Drawing of the Swords found in Ewart Park.—*Presented by M. Culley, Esq.*

{ Two Engravings of the Coins of Henry III.
 { Five of British Coins.
 { Twenty-eight of Saxon Coins.

Presented by Rev. Rogers Ruding.

A Drawing of the Tower upon the old Bridge of Newcastle upon Tyne, facing Newcastle.—*Presented by Miss Hornby.*

Three Plates of Roman Antiquities found near Capheaton, Northumberland.—*Presented by Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart.*

Annulus Antiquus; an Engraving from an ancient Gold Ring in the Possession of Julius Cæsar Ginnasi.—*Presented by J. C. Ginnasi.*

Chart of English Silver Coins, from A. D. 1066.—*Presented by Mr. John Bell.*

An Impression of the Plate deposited in the Foundation of the new County Courts, Newcastle, July 23d, 1810.—*Presented by Mr. Thos. Davidson.*

The College of Arms; or the Herald's Office. London, 1768.—*Presented by Ditto.*

Præfericulæ found in Carlisle, 1804.—*Presented by Mr. Dickson.*

A Drawing of the old Gate at Pandon, in Newcastle, called Pandon Gate.—*Drawn and presented by Mr. Thomas Wilson.*

An elegantly illuminated Pedigree of the Family of the late Earl of Derwentwater.—*Presented by W. Radclyffe, Esq.*

ENGRAVINGS, DRAWINGS, &c.

Drawings of the various Silver Tokens struck in 1814, &c.—*Made and presented by Mr. John Bell.*

An Engraving from the Seal of the ancient Hospital of St. Bartholomew, in Newcastle upon Tyne.—*Presented by Mr. Brockett, at whose Expense it was engraved.*

A Drawing of a Brass Vessel found in 1816, near the Roman Wall, similar in every Respect to one described by Camden to have been found in Ireland. See Fig. 6, Plate xii. Vol. IV.—*Drawn and presented by Mr. John Adamson.*

FOLKES, MARTIN, v. ACTA ACADEMIARUM.

GARDNER, RALPH.

England's Grievance Discovered, in Relation to the Coal Trade; with the Map of the River of Tine, and Situation of the Town and Corporation of Newcastle, &c. &c. 8vo. Newcastle: reprinted 1796.

GENT, THOMAS.

Annales Regioduni Hullini: or History of Kingston-upon-Hull. 8vo. York, 1735.—*Presented by the Rev. Wm. Turner.*

The ancient and modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon. 8vo. York, 1733.—*Presented by the Rev. Wm. Turner.*

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ERRATA.

- Page xi. line 15, *for in the midst, read on the bank.*
Page xii. line 30, *for wrote, read wrought.*
Page xiii. line 6, *after buildings, insert in Greece.*
Page xvi. note †, *for Blount, read Earle.*
Page 30, line 5, *for Moses, read Joshua.*
Page 51, line 5, *for 186, read 286.*
Page 51, line 8, *for 1638, read 1438.*
Page 52, line 13, *read Daimachus' Poliorcetica contained.*
Page 92, line 20, *for of, read in.*
Page 112, line 8, *for Plate III. read Plate V.*
Page 112, lines 14 and 15, *for feet, read yards.*
Page 119, line 1, *read Duke of Britain.*
Page 126, line 29, *for them, read they.*
Page 128, line 21, *for ever, read was.*
Page 243, line 2, *for in kerton, read Pinkerton.*
Page 270, line 17, *for cavalry, read soldiery.*
Page 283, line 6, *for the, read a.*

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In binding the two Parts together,

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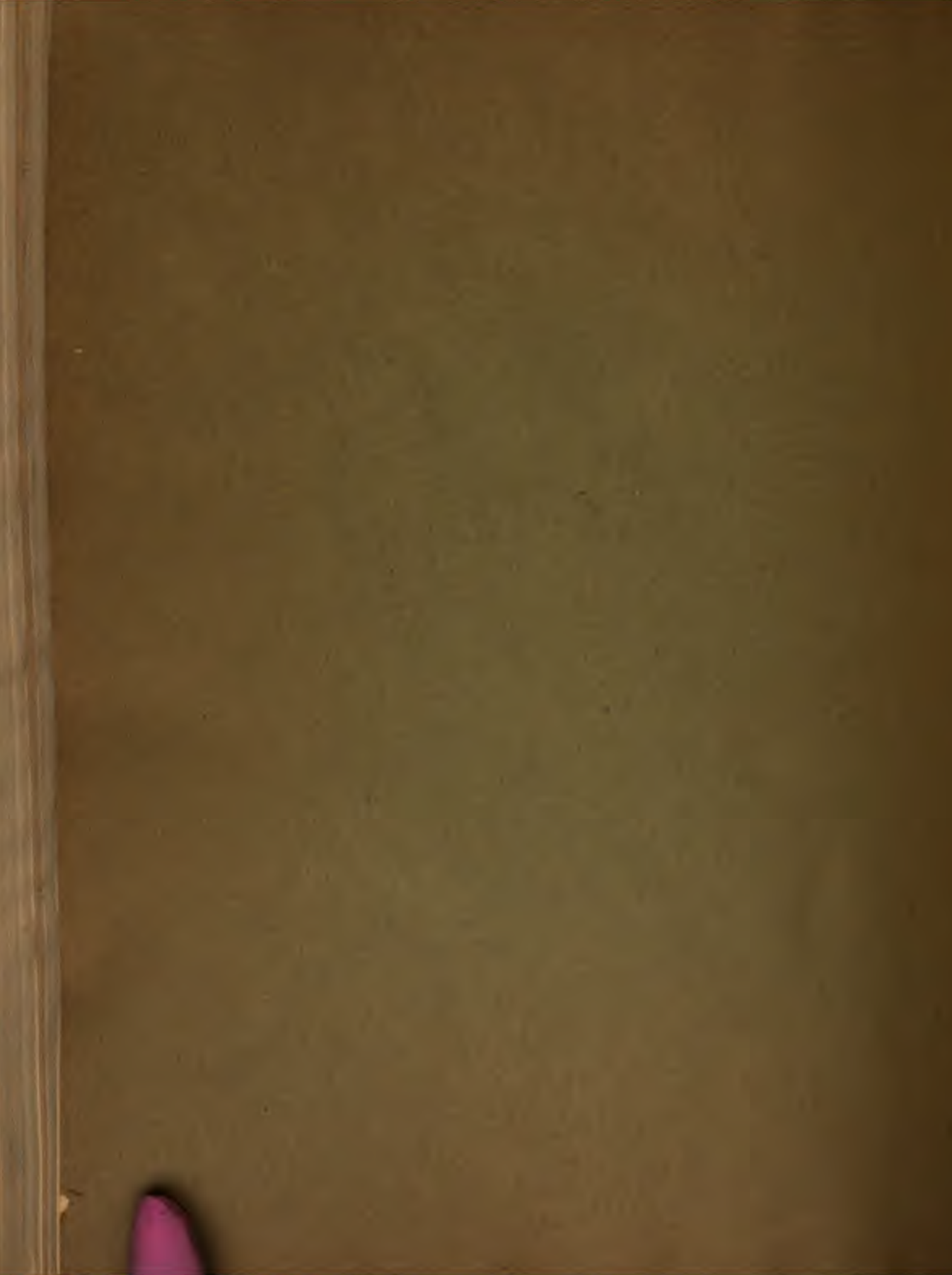
Ditto, the List of Members at the end of Part I. substituting that at the end of Part II.

Let the sheet of Donations and the sheet of Additions to the Catalogue in Part II. be placed after the corresponding sheets of Part I.

Plates I. and II. to face	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Page	14
Plate of Saxon Inscription	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		103
Plate IV.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		107
Plate V.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		112
Plate VI.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		124
Plate VII.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		132
Plate of Seal of the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		135
Plate IX. (Arrow Heads)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		201
Plan of Tynemouth to be inserted before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		216
Map of the Devil's Wall, in Bavaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		219
Mithraic Antiquities discovered at Housesteads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		265
Plate IX. (Antiquities found at Plumpton) to face page 2 of the List of Donations.									

24
72

2000



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